

PEOPLE

CELTICS WIN MONDAY SPORTS

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ESTABLISHED 1887

An Interview With the Soviet Leader

Gorbachev to Ask Reagan for Joint Mars Mission

He Sees Flight as Way To Long Cooperation

By Jim Hoagland
WASHINGTON Post Service
MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev will ask President Ronald Reagan to approve a joint Soviet-U.S. unmanned flight to Mars as the symbol of an ambitious new era of superpower cooperation on Earth and in space when the two men meet in Moscow this month.



The Soviet leader comes across as careful and controlled, during and open, but with a sense of how far to go. Page 4.

New Impetus Sought For Reform Program

By Gary Lee
WASHINGTON Post Service
MOSCOW — Mikhail S. Gorbachev, speaking intimately and with conviction about his "grandiose" plan for political and economic reform, has acknowledged that his campaign is entering a critical phase, mired in turbulence and new problems but not without hope.

Hungarian Communists Replace Kadar as Chief Of Party, Grosz Elevated

By Jackson Diehl
WASHINGTON Post Service
BUDAPEST — Janos Kadar, who led Hungary from the suppression of its anti-Communist revolution in 1956 to reforms of socialism that have become a model for the Soviet bloc, was removed from his post as general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party at a special party conference Sunday.

Kiosk

U.S. Proposes Deal to Noriega

WASHINGTON (AP) — The United States has put a deal "on the table" for Panama's military ruler, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, to step down and leave the country "for a period of time," President Ronald Reagan's national security adviser, Lieutenant Colonel Colin Powell, said Sunday on the CBS program "Face the Nation."

2 Soviet Dismissals Follow New Unrest

By Bill Keller
NEW YORK Times Service
MOSCOW — The Communist Party leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan have been dismissed after fresh outbreaks of ethnic tension in the two southern republics, the official press agency Tass reported.



Karoly Grosz, left, talking Sunday with Janos Kadar at a party meeting in which Mr. Grosz replaced Mr. Kadar as Hungary's leader.

MONDAY Q&A



Takeshi Ohta of the Bank of Japan says that intervention alone is no panacea for currency stability. Page 2.

General News
A study shows that more treatment is needed after all surgery for breast cancer. Page 2.
Clint Eastwood's latest film applauded at Cannes. Page 7.

U.S. Conservatives Helping Mozambican Rebels

By Robert Pear and James Brooke
WASHINGTON — A small group of wealthy U.S. businessmen, ideological conservatives and evangelical Christian missionaries have joined forces in an effort to aid anti-Communist insurgents.

Weary Lebanese Shiites Turn Hostile to Tehran

By Ihsan A. Hijazi
NEW YORK Times Service
BEIRUT — An increasing number of Lebanon's Shiite Muslims, among whom Iran has enjoyed wide popularity, have become hostile toward Tehran, which they blame for relentless factional fighting in the southern suburbs of Beirut.

Death of a Jazzman: Last Notes on Trumpeter Chet Baker

By Mike Zwerin
INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune
AMSTERDAM — Marking eras by some event or other is bound to be arbitrary, but it can be said that the myth of the bebop junkie, the image of jazz and drugs band in hand, died along with Chet Baker when he fell out of the window of a hotel near the drug dealers' area on Zeehoek 3:00 A.M. on Friday the 13th.

Vertical sidebar containing various classified ads and notices, including 'SOUTH AFRICA', 'LATIN AMERICA', 'MIDDLE EAST', 'EUROPE', 'AMERICA', and 'NEW ZEALAND'.

Bank of Japan Official Sees Currency Stability — for Now

Takeshi Ohta has been an official at the Bank of Japan for almost three decades. As deputy governor for international relations, Mr. Ohta, 58, is currently the third-ranking official at the central bank, and is closely involved in its cooperative efforts on issues such as exchange and interest rates. He spoke last week in Tokyo with Patrick L. Smith of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. Are you confident of continued exchange-rate stability? Based on recent trade figures, many analysts say another round of yen appreciation could come soon after the Toronto summit of Western leaders in June.

A. Major countries are now prepared to cooperate in maintaining exchange rates, since stability is the prerequisite for non-inflationary growth in the world economy. The markets have confidence in this, and in the continued improvement of economic fundamentals, especially in the United States. There is also confidence in the markets about investors' behavior and the continued flow of capital into the United States. In the long term, however, as long as the Japanese external surplus

and the U.S. deficit remain large, pressure on the yen is rather inevitable.

Q. Japan's basic balance for the first quarter of 1983 turned positive for the first time in almost five years, meaning the country is now taking in more money than it is putting out. Are you concerned?

A. We're not much worried about this. The most important things are the current account and the trade account, and both showed declines. Yes, the net outflow of long-term capital slowed in the first quarter. But late last year foreigners were selling stock, while in the first quarter of this year they were buying.

Q. Although Japan's indicators remain positive, just how long can domestic demand be sustained? Are you concerned that the nation may not continue playing the role it assumed after the Plaza accord of 1985, to stimulate its economy?

A. I'm confident about the economy for the rest of 1983. Our performance recently has been better than expected, due to private consumption, public spending, housing and construction starts, corporate fixed investment and inventory levels. But if we have an oil crisis, a financial crisis or a sharp depreciation of the yen — none of which is likely — some impact

in the long term would be inevitable.

Q. Despite substantial growth in money supply in Japan and other countries that have intervened in support of the dollar, there is little sign of inflation outside the United States. But is liquidity fueling financial-asset inflation — stock prices and property values — in Japan and elsewhere?

A. Liquidity has caused high returns on financial investments, it's true. But monetary

MONDAY Q&A

ey-supply growth [in Japan] has been partly the result of financial liberalization, with money shifting from the non-banking sector to the banking sector. The relationship between money supply and real economic activity has become more vague than it used to be, and we can't simply link money supply to inflation. We have to recognize the risk, but it's not imminent.

Q. The Bank of Japan seems to be increasingly impatient with the need to intervene to help clean up a mess it sees as essentially of America's making. Can you respond?

A. That's too simple. Tokyo, New York and the European markets are now almost completely integrated. If something happens in one market, the impact would almost instantaneously spill over. We aren't unhappy to continue to cooperate; it's in our interest, too. But continued cooperation on macroeconomic policies is absolutely important. Unless we can expect this, we cannot intervene indefinitely. Intervention is not a panacea for the stability of exchange rates.

A. How easily will Japanese banks be able to adjust to new international standards on capital adequacy? If leading banks are dramatically short of capital, this suggests that asset growth will have to be severely restricted, at least for some.

A. True, to achieve the agreed ratio banks will have to enhance their capital bases and adjust the growth of assets at the same time. We expect an agreement on this between the banks and the monetary authorities by the end of June. My feeling is they are fully prepared to accept this, since they are anxious to be good players in world markets. Of course, the situation is different bank by bank, but it will cost them enormously to do it.

Q. Japan has been seeking greater influ-

ence in the Asian Development Bank. Why? Does this constitute a kind of confrontation with the United States?

A. There should be no difficulty for European and American people to understand the close relationship between Japan and the Asian region. Under the Reagan administration, there has been more policy emphasis on the private sector and not on state-owned or nationalized industries. But how many Asian corporations could really be privatized? There are some regional features to this issue. But "confrontation" is a bit exaggerated.

Q. How do you feel about a proposed "Marshall Plan" for the Philippines? It would be difficult to separate politics and economics, as Japan insists must be the case.

A. It's a colorful kite, but I question whether a Marshall Plan is really necessary. The important points are to persuade the Philippines to continue its adjustment process, to persuade the Japanese commercial banks and others to continue cooperating and to persuade the international organizations, as well as Japan, the United States and other governments to accept more burden sharing. The economy has deteriorated, but it has a solid base.

WORLD BRIEFS

UN Soldier Kills a Turkish Cypriot

NICOSIA, Cyprus (Combined Dispatches) — An Austrian soldier serving with the United Nations Force in Cyprus has shot and killed a Turkish Cypriot man in the village of Pyla in the first fatal shooting involving the UN force since it arrived on the island in 1964.

Cyprus television said that the man, Hussein Kafa, who was said to be in his 60s, had fired first at the soldier on Saturday, and that the soldier then fired three shots, killing Mr. Kafa. The Austrian was wounded and was taken to Larnaca Hospital, five kilometers (three miles) from Pyla, the television said.

Rauf Denktaş, the leader of the breakaway Turkish Cypriot republic, said Sunday that the future of the peacekeeping force had been thrown into question by the killing. He said the shooting followed several weeks of harassment of Mr. Kafa by Austrian soldiers. However, a UN spokesman described Mr. Kafa as a troublemaker. The spokesman said Mr. Kafa was shot after he opened fire and seriously wounded an Austrian lieutenant who went to question him. (AP, Reuters)

Mitterrand Vows Unity in 2d Term

PARIS (AP) — President François Mitterrand has begun his second seven-year term, promising to formulate policy aimed at uniting fellow Socialists with non-Socialists.

Speaking Saturday during a 20-minute inauguration ceremony at the Elysee Palace, Mr. Mitterrand said his re-election on May 5, when he defeated Jacques Chirac, a conservative who later resigned as prime minister, "was not the good ones winning over the bad ones, nor the other way around."

He called on French people to work together "so that the principle of hope might triumph over the compulsions of fear and confrontation." Mr. Mitterrand, 71, has called legislative elections for June 5, with the runoff June 12. Socialists, backing the new prime minister, Michel Rocard, are expected to win a large majority in the National Assembly.

Police and Kwangju Protesters Clash

KWANGJU, South Korea (Reuters) — South Korean riot police clashed Sunday with thousands of protesters in this southwestern city, firing tear gas to hold back anti-government and anti-American rallies.

The demonstrators, chanting and hurling rocks and gasoline bombs, were demanding a full-scale inquiry into the army's crushing in Kwangju of a 1980 revolt directed against martial law. Officials say about 200 people died in the 1980 uprising, but dissidents say the death toll was at least 1,000.

Scores of protesters were arrested Sunday, but there were no reports of injuries. The clashes, which lasted about four hours, halted traffic in much of the city. Clouds of tear gas hung over the city center and streets were littered with rocks, broken bottles and spent tear-gas canisters. Many demonstrators participated earlier in a student tribute at a cemetery where about 100 victims of the 1980 uprising are buried.

Aquino Guard Kills 12 in Rampage

MANILA (Reuters) A drunken member of President Corason C. Aquino's security guard ran amok and shot to death 12 persons, including three children, the police said Sunday.

The police said Sergeant Marciano Contao, who has disappeared, shot and killed four companions, including two fellow marines who also were temporary members of the presidential security guard, with his pistol while drinking with them Saturday night in a Manila suburb.

The sergeant then went to his house nearby, where he got a rifle and fired at people in the street, apparently without hitting anyone. But at a neighbor's house, he killed a family of eight, three of them children, the military said. The president's guard is a select and independent unit of the armed forces, which guards the presidential palace and escorts the president on out-of-town visits.

Ex-Singapore President Assails Lee

SINGAPORE (IHT) — A former Singapore head of state accused the government of Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew on Sunday of creating in Singapore "an incredible economic success married to an abysmal political style which does not tolerate any dissent."

C.V. Devan Nair, president from 1981 to 1985 and a founding member of Singapore's ruling party, asserted that the arrest and re-arrest of several dozen well-educated Singaporean dissidents since 1987 was intended to prevent a more effective political opposition from emerging.

"I think the whole thing stinks to high heaven," Mr. Nair said in an interview from his home here that was broadcast by BBC radio. Although Mr. Nair delivered a similar broadside last year, his renewed criticism is threatening to the government, analysts said, because he is seen as someone around whom an opposition movement could coalesce.

For the Record

Protesters marched through central Madrid on Sunday in opposition to a government plan to join the Western European Union, the defense forum that promotes European military cooperation. The police said 2,000 people took part in the protest by leftist political parties, trade unions and pacifist groups. Organizers said 5,000 participated. (AP)

A 70-year-old white Isruener was burned to death near Greytingstad, 80 kilometers (50 miles) southeast of Johannesburg, when blacks set his house afire and stoned it, the police said Sunday. (Reuters)

At least 57 people died and more than 160 were injured in flooding from a storm that hit parts of China's Fujian Province Friday night and Saturday, the official Xinhua press agency said Sunday. (UPI)

TRAVEL UPDATE

In a demonstration, more than 600 rowboats sailed on mass the canals of Venice on Sunday to protest against motorboats and other modern inventions that pollute the water. (AP)

A brawl broke out on a P&O ferry crossing the English Channel, and the crew was forced to return to port at Cherbourg, France, where 13 young British men were arrested. French immigration police said Sunday. (AP)

This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Andorra, Austria, Bahamas, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Denmark, East Germany, France, Gabon, Grenada, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Monaco, Morocco, Netherlands, Norway, Rwanda, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, West Germany.

TUESDAY: Belize, Bulgaria, Ecuador.

WEDNESDAY: Argentina, Chad, Jordan, Mali, Mauritania, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

SATURDAY: Namibia.

Source: Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Reuters.

DOONESBURY



U.S. Panel Urges Shift To a Scaled-Down SDI

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration's plan for a space-based shield against Soviet missiles is too risky and should initially be scaled back to a more limited, ground-based missile defense, a senior Defense Department advisory panel has said.

Such a system, which might include the deployment of missile interceptors around Washington, would initially provide only a "thin" defense of U.S. territory, according to the report.

But the nine-member panel, headed by Robert Everett, chairman of the Defense Science Board,

added that this limited defense could later be expanded into the "star wars" missile shield currently being pursued by the Pentagon.

The high-level, independent panel said this step-by-step approach offered more flexibility and reliability than the current Strategic Defense Initiative plan to deploy hundreds of space-based weapons in the mid-1990s in the first phase of a system aimed at stopping 30 percent of incoming warheads.

The panel said that one of the "risky" parts of the plan was trying to create a space-based system so that all its elements were ready at the same time.

Although Defense Secretary Frank C. Carlucci had earlier praised the advisory group's work, the Pentagon said Friday that "the submission of the report to the secretary in no way signals a change in U.S. policy" with respect to SDI.

The agency also denied that public release of the report Friday signaled the government's intention to move toward an "early" deployment of missile defenses or drop a stated goal of including U.S. allies in any overall missile protection plan.

The panel members privately acknowledged that a major impetus for their recommendation was a similar recommendation earlier this year by Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, who is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Proponents of the shift have argued that Mr. Nunn's endorsement will be crucial to congressional acceptance of missile defense and that a limited defense could serve as a foot in the door for the more costly and elaborate space weapons envisioned by President Ronald Reagan.

The panel emphasized that its plan would avoid legal controversy by initially confining the program to ground-based defenses permitted by the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972.

The treaty allows the United States and the Soviet Union up to 100 missile interceptors at one site. The Soviets are modernizing such a system around Moscow, while the United States abandoned a similar system in North Dakota in 1975.

Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, a leading figure in the debate, gave the treaty a 60-40 chance of getting through before Friday.

On another issue, Mr. Nunn said his interest in a vice presidential nomination was "very, very low." (Reuters, IHT)



KLARA KRASMAN ARRESTED — A woman grabs the hood of a Klu Klux Klan member during a brief march Saturday in Parkside, Pennsylvania, a Philadelphia suburb, as another Klansman moves in to help. Police, who outnumbered Klansmen 4 to 1, arrested her, as well as a Klansman. About 50 members, only half wearing robes and hoods, paraded before a hostile crowd.

Israeli Arms Role Cited In Chinese-Saudi Deal

By David B. Ottaway
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Israeli experts working secretly in China since the early 1980s were involved in improving the guidance system of medium-range missiles for Saudi Arabia that are capable of striking any part of Israel, according to U.S. commercial sources and Saudi experts.

Israeli leaders have publicly expressed alarm about the presence in Saudi Arabia of the Chinese-built CSS-2 missiles, which were developed originally by Beijing to carry nuclear warheads.

The Saudis and Chinese say that the missiles acquired by the Saudis have been modified to carry only a conventional explosive. The CSS-2 has a potential range of about 1,600 miles (2,500 kilometers), enough to reach every military site in Israel.

Israeli technology and expertise, therefore, have contributed to the development of a weapon the Israeli government regards as a major new threat and a destabilizing factor in the Middle East.

The sources were divided on whether the Israeli experts knew that the modified missile was destined for Saudi Arabia, or whether they thought that China was selling it to Iran or Iraq, the two major recipients of Chinese arms exports.

China and Saudi Arabia went to great lengths to keep the missile sale a secret. U.S. intelligence did not obtain convincing evidence about it until early this year.

The Saudi ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, conducted negotiations for the missiles with the Chinese, concealing the talks from Washington. Prince Bandar refused to discuss reports that Israel was involved in modifying the missiles.

The sources, who asked not to be identified because some of them work in Saudi Arabia, said that some of the Israeli experts had been using false Philippine passports that were traced to the Philippine consulate in Jeddah.

Saudi Arabia and China have provided few details about the missile deal. They have said that in the process of modifying the missile to carry a conventional warhead, its range has been somewhat shortened. These modifications would normally require changes in the guidance system as well, U.S. experts say.

The CSS-2 is a first-generation missile that is not known for its accuracy. The Saudis have told U.S. officials they wanted it mainly to create a credible deterrent to Iranian threats of missile attacks on oil and other targets in Saudi Arabia.

The extent of Israeli involvement in China's booming arms export trade has remained secret. However, the case of an Israeli businessman who was arrested in mid-December in Hong Kong with five false Philippine passports has provided some insight into the Israel-China arms connection.

The Israeli, Zvi Gafni, told the police in Hong Kong that the passports were used by five Israeli businessmen to travel to Beijing in November and that he was holding them in case they returned. Mr. Gafni's lawyer implied that the five were involved in arms dealings but refused to disclose any details.

On May 6, Mr. Gafni was sentenced to two years in prison in Hong Kong on a variety of charges, including possession of false passports, an illegal stun gun and marijuana.

The Sunday Times of London published on April 3 a detailed investigation into the Gafni case. The paper identified the five Israelis involved in the November mission, and said they were experts in the missile division of the Israeli military industries.

One of the five, Israel Radomsky, confirmed in an interview in Israel that he and his colleagues had gone to China using fake Philippine passports and said that the trip had been cleared at the highest level of the Israeli government, the paper reported.

It said the Israelis had struck a deal to provide China with advanced missile technology and armor-piercing devices. There were indications that Israel was also helping China to develop a new fighter jet using technology derived from the canceled Lavi fighter, the paper said.

There have also been reports that Israeli experts helped the Chinese to develop reactive armor for their tanks and worked on the development of Chinese tactical missiles, aircraft and artillery, according to Morton S. Miller, the author of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's report on world military expenditures and arms transfers, published last month.

"The Israelis are involved in most of the weapons modification programs in China," Mr. Miller said.

Mr. Miller has just retired from the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research where he was a senior arms transfer intelligence analyst for 10 years.

Renamo has an extensive radio network connecting its headquarters and bases in Mozambique.

In a recent interview, Paulo Oliveira, a member of Renamo from 1981 to 1987, said that representatives of the group in Lisbon communicated with their colleagues in South Africa using a teleprinter and "a military cipher machine." Mr. Oliveira used to be Renamo's spokesman in Lisbon, a good listening post for developments in Mozambique because Portugal is the former colonial ruler.

In Mozambique, the Australian missionary, Ian Grey, was recently sentenced to 10 and a half years in prison after having been convicted of security offenses arising from his efforts to help Renamo. Mr. Grey said, among other things, that he had carried messages between Renamo guerrillas and their American supporters, a charge denied by the Americans.

Mr. Grey was a member of Shekinah Ministries, a Pentecostal organization that has been active in areas of Mozambique controlled by Renamo.

Mr. MacKenzie, who is an American citizen, served as a U.S. Army paratrooper in Vietnam and then worked in a unit of the Rhodesian Army, the Special Air Service, that gave training and tactical advice to members of Renamo in the late 1970s. In 1979, he led a raid on an oil storage depot at the port of Beira, in Mozambique.

In 1980, after Rhodesia had become the independent country of Zimbabwe, South Africa took over sponsorship of Renamo. Mr. MacKenzie joined the South African Army and continued to train and advise members of Renamo until 1981.

Renamo asserts that all its weapons and ammunition, including machine guns, mortars, rockets and grenade launchers, have been captured from Mozambique and Zimbabwe troops fighting for the leftist Mozambique government. Mr. Schaaf says the rebels receive no aid from South Africa.

American and Mozambique officials say that South African military intelligence has continued to provide equipment, intelligence and other forms of assistance to the rebels, even though such aid was to have ended under an agreement signed by South Africa and Mozambique in 1984.

Breast Cancer Therapy Is Urged After Surgery

By Gina Kolata
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — In a major change, the National Cancer Institute is recommending that all women who have breast cancer should have chemotherapy or hormonal therapy after initial surgery, even if there is no evidence that the cancer has spread.

The recommendation is based on three unpublished studies. The institute previously had said there was no reason to administer drug therapy to most women who had surgery for early breast cancer if there is no sign the cancer has spread to the lymph nodes.

The latest advice was based on new evidence that women who received drug therapy were much less likely to have a recurrence. In an unusual effort to reach physicians quickly, the institute sent a letter to 13,000 cancer specialists last week, rather than waiting for publication of the studies.

Dr. Vincent T. DeVita Jr., director of the institute, said the overwhelming majority of the 60,000 women diagnosed each year with early breast cancer do not receive chemotherapy or hormonal therapy, which involves use of a drug that blocks the action of estrogen, a female sex hormone that encourages growth of some tumors.

Many experts have thought that in cases of early breast cancer the chances of a recurrence after surgery were so small that patients would not benefit from treatment with powerful drugs. However, recent evidence indicates that up to 33 percent of women with early cancer who did not have additional therapy have a recurrence.

Dr. Diane Fink, vice president for professional education at the American Cancer Society, agreed with the institute's decision.

"This is exciting and important," she said. "We can't keep it under wraps."

Breast cancer specialists noted, however, that the new research provided no guidance for women who have had surgery for early breast cancer in the past but who did not have additional treatment.

Dr. DeVita said that he would advise women with early breast cancer who had surgery less than six months ago and did not have additional drug therapy to consider drug treatment now. He added, "It's a judgment call."

MEMORIAL FOR BUDDY WEISS

Friends of the former Editor of the Herald Tribune, who died on March 12, are invited to a memorial gathering in his honor at the IHT offices at 181, ave. Charles-de-Gaulle, Neuilly, on Thursday May 26, between 1 and 3 p.m. Those planning to attend are requested to call Anik Creux: 46 37 94 02.

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مکانم الأصيل

IEFS

ish Cypriot

An Austrian soldier... killed in the first fatal shooting... on Kafa, who was said to be... (three miles) from Pyla...

in 2d Term

Grand has begun his second... aimed at uniting fellow... inauguration ceremony at... the election on May 8, when he... later resigned as prime... the bad ones, nor the other...

rotesters Clash

South Korean riot police... in this southwestern city... and anti-American rallies... rocks and gasoline bottles... army's crushing in Kwangju... law. Officials say about 20... lens say the death toll was...

2 in Rampage

ber of President Corason... to death 12 persons, includ... tace, who has disappeared, the... fellow marines who also were... security guard, with his pistol... in a Manila suburb... early, where he got a rifle and... without hitting anyone. But at... light, three of them climbed the... lect and independent unit of the... tential palace and escorts the...

ent Assails Lee

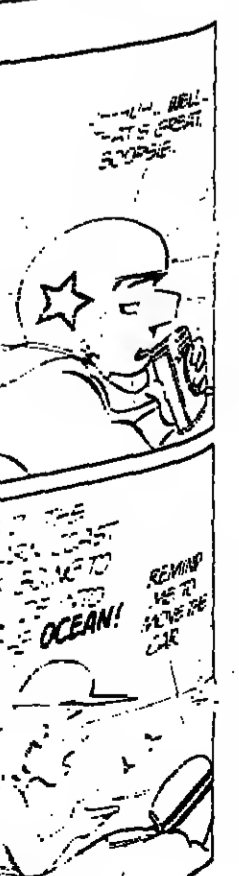
gapore head of state created... a New on Sunday of attending... es married to an abysmal pol... sent... to 1985 and a founding member... that the arrest and return of... an dissidents since 1987 was a... nical opposition from emerging... gh heaven." Mr. Nair said in a... dcast by BBC radio. Although... last year, his renewed criticisms... ts said, because he is seen a... movement could realsoe.

adrid on Sunday in opposition

European Union, the defense... cooperation. The police say... y leftist political parties had... said 7,000 participated. (AP)... ed to death near Grestingrad, B... hanceburg, when blacks sa... us Sunday... 100 were injured in flooding... uan Broward Friday night as... said Sunday.

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boats sailed on masse the coast... the harbors and other water... (AP)... ssing the English Channel, and... there was France, where 13 jour... migration police said Sunday. (AP)



AMERICAN TOPICS

Male Power Citadel Liberated by Women

Women are liberating a citadel of male power: Washington. Women now run corporate offices, federal agencies and Capitol Hill staffs as well as holding highly visible jobs as lawyers and lobbyists. The New York Times notes...

Short Takes

West reaches of the United States face serious drought this summer. Some of the hardest-hit areas, like southern and western Texas, are in their second or third dry years. Texas can still hope for a drenching rain, but the dry season is just beginning in the Pacific Northwest, where streams and rivers are down a third. Northern California is having its worst water shortage in a decade. In Montana, North and South Dakota and Minnesota, some conservationists say that if rains do not come soon, a 1930s-style dust bowl could develop.

Notes About People

In a capital where the chief of state is of (and referred to as) Ron, the speaker of the House of Representatives goes by Jim and the Senate minority leader prefers to be called Bob. Edmund Morris, Ronald Reagan's designated biographer, is concerned about the proliferation of nicknames, even without permission of the nicknamed. When the political columnist William Safire referred to him as "Ed," Mr. Morris wrote him an open letter saying that this "grates like sand in salad."

Chick Hunsberry, a 6-foot-6 (1.98-meter), 350-pound (160-kilogram) former professional wrestler who is now bodyguard to Rogers Nelson Prince, better known as the rock star Prince, dedicated his life to God after a grandson recovered from a choking episode last summer.

Baby-sitting Service is provided by four County Fair super-marketers in the Carbonate, Illinois, area.

Heather Gradison, the first woman to become chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, observed, "When people used to speak of a powerful Washington woman they would name an influential hostess. But that is social; that is money. That is not power. Power comes from hard work and position."

Marcia Carlucci has worked for both Congress and the executive branch. She now heads government relations for Coopers & Lybrand, an international accounting firm. Mrs. Car

um, five bean bags, and plenty of toys, crayons and drawing paper. Big windows allow parents to check on their youngsters while they shop. A minimum \$25 purchase entitles parents to up to two hours of free child care. After two hours, there's a \$5-an-hour charge. Karen Redfern, 35, said, "It's definitely helpful, especially when a mother has only two hands and two children and is trying to grocery shop. It's terrific."

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Noriega Appears to Benefit as U.S. Talks Drag On

By William Branigan Washington Post Service

PANAMA CITY — By dragging out negotiations with the United States on his departure, General Manuel Antonio Noriega appears to be succeeding in a strategy to drive a wedge between his U.S. and Panamanian adversaries, according to analysts here.

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By William Branigan Washington Post Service

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Poisonings Laid to Killer of Schoolchild

By Bill Peterson Washington Post Service

WINNETKA, Illinois — An apparently deranged woman delivered poisoned food and fruit juice to at least eight locations, including fraternities at Northwestern University and the residences of five former baby-sitting clients, before she went on a shooting spree in a second-grade Winnetka classroom last week, according to the police.

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about to start a third with a can of gasoline when she was frightened off.

In addition, she apparently placed fruit juice cartons, snacks and cookies in mail boxes and at the backdoors of homes in three affluent North Shore suburbs and at two college fraternities early Friday.

A note attached to one batch of Rice Krispies bars said: "Love, your sisters. Enjoy."

[At least seven persons were taken to hospitals Saturday after consuming apparently tainted food left by the woman, United Press International reported, quoting the police.]

They said, laboratory tests showed the food contained arsenic. [Seven fraternity members were hospitalized briefly for observation after consuming food products apparently left by Mrs. Dann.]

The Winnetka police chief, Herbert Timm, said the police had found library books and a bibliography about poisons in Mrs. Dann's apartment, as well as a sy-

ringe in her parents' home. The police said they believed that the syringe was used to inject substances into the food.

Mr. Timm said they also found a list of names, including the names of families who had received food, in the apartment.

He said the developments Saturday raised the prospect that Mrs. Dann, 30, had carefully planned her attacks. "Certainly this all wasn't spontaneous," he said. "It looked like it had been planned for some time."

Exactly what set Mrs. Dann off remained unclear. According to friends, acquaintances, and the police, she had a history of psychological problems and minor brushes with the law. These were rapidly becoming major problems.

The daughter of an accountant, she grew up in the affluent suburb of Glencoe, north of Chicago, was graduated from the highly regarded East New Trier High School in 1975 and attended the University of Arizona. After dropping out of

college, she worked for an insurance firm, and two years later married the boss's son, Russell Dann, who was paid \$100,000 a year.

The marriage was stormy, and the couple divorced in 1986. Mrs. Dann received a \$125,000 cash divorce settlement and \$1,250 a month for three years.

The former husband later reported that an intruder had stabbed him in the chest with an ice pick as he slept in his apartment. He told the police that he thought the intruder was his estranged wife, but no charges were filed.

Later, Mrs. Dann was arrested for shoplifting in Wisconsin. She was accused of making a series of threatening calls to her former husband and to a former friend in Arizona, and of other bizarre behavior.

"She was sort of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde in that she had mood swings up and down," said Charles Childs, 34, who dated her about a year ago.

In recent weeks, the FBI was trying to locate Mrs. Dann because of the calls to Arizona, and prosecutors in Illinois were developing a case against her over calls to her former husband.

"We were working as fast as we could to get her off the street," Fred Foreman, the Lake County state attorney, told the Chicago Sun-Times, "because we knew she was exhibiting bizarre behavior."

Jailing of Cocaine Chief Unlikely to Deter Dealers

By Peter Kerr New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The dominant Colombian groups that control the world's cocaine trade, often called the Medellin cartel, are unlikely to be deterred by the conviction of one of the founders of the cartel, experts on drug trafficking say.

The conviction of the cartel leader, Carlos Lehder Rivas, in Jacksonville, Florida, on Thursday will not cripple the Medellin cartel, the drug specialists say, because it is not a formal organization but a loose coalition of criminal groups that cooperate on only some of

their drug ventures and in fighting common enemies.

"The Medellin cartel is a shorthand description for something no one on the outside has seen in its entirety," a high-level U.S. official said. "They act individually but pose a collective threat. They do not have political objectives, but they have a political impact."

In recent months, members of Congress and federal prosecutors have implied that the Medellin groups are a unified force that pose a threat to the stability of nations in the Western Hemisphere.

On Thursday, Robert Merkle, the U.S. attorney who prosecuted Mr. Lehder, a Colombian, said the conviction threatened the operation of the ring. Mr. Lehder, 38, and his co-defendant, Jack Carlton Reed, 57, were convicted of conspiring to smuggle 3.3 tons of cocaine into the United States.

But the cocaine industry does not appear to have the well-defined hierarchical structure of organized crime in the United States. Therefore, some experts say, the imprisonment of even a top Medellin leader is not likely to cripple criminal operations in Colombia. And the Medellin leaders face competition from other Colombian traffickers, including a group referred to as a "cartel" in Cali.

The Medellin groups control 80 percent of the cocaine entering the United States. But in recent interviews in the United States, in Mexico and in Central and South America, intelligence experts, diplomats and journalists have painted a more complex and at times contradictory picture of the Medellin leaders and their influence in the West.

Since they first came together in a rustic restaurant near Medellin in 1981, the cartel leaders have often pooled their resources, including manpower that numbers in the thousands. By 1984, the annual income for the Medellin groups was put at \$1.5 billion.

Over the past decade, law enforcement authorities say, the Medellin traffickers have ordered doz-

ens of assassinations and established alliances with at least two guerrilla armies in Colombia, the April 19 Movement, or M-19, and the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces.

They have also tried to befriend and corrupt people on both sides of the Nicaraguan civil war and have established relationships with military, political and criminal leaders in Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Belize, the Bahamas and Mexico, among other countries.

In the view of U.S. drug agents, an important date in the founding of the trafficking group was Nov. 12, 1981, when the revolutionary group M-19 kidnapped a young woman, Marta Nieves Ochoa Vasquez, from the campus of the University of Antioquia in Medellin and demanded \$1 million in ransom from her family.

The Ochoa family, which commanded one of the largest cocaine trafficking organizations in the world, responded by calling a meeting of the leaders of the top Colombian drug-trafficking organizations at La Margarita, a restaurant on the outskirts of Medellin owned by the Ochoa family.

The leaders, aware that their new drug wealth made them appealing targets for kidnappers, formed an organization called "Death to Kidnappers," which they said would be dedicated to "the public and immediate execution of all these persons involved in kidnapping."

The traffickers killed dozens of

people who they said were linked to the M-19 group. On Feb. 19, Miss Ochoa was released.

The meeting proved to be the first of many among the traffickers, officials say. In working together against the kidnappers, the drug smugglers realized that they could also cooperate to achieve greater profits and safety.

Shortly after the Ochoa kidnapping, the traffickers agreed to build a huge cocaine production complex on the Yari River in Colombia. The complex, known as Tranquilandia, produced more than 3,100 (7,000 pounds) of cocaine a month.

Mr. Lehder, who was arrested last year in what appears to have been an accidental raid by Colombian authorities, was credited with introducing airplanes that ferried tons of cocaine through the Bahamas and into Florida.

The Medellin traffickers dominate a system of dozens of sub-groups, or subcontractors. The subcontractors buy coca paste in Peru, Bolivia and other South American countries, process it in Colombia and smuggle it into the United States through Central America, the Caribbean and Florida.

Law enforcement officials in the United States and Colombia agree that the Medellin leaders are the most powerful and wealthy cocaine lords and that they are behind the increased flow of cocaine into Western Europe.

Soviets May Allow U.S. Psychiatrists To Inspect Hospitals for Dissidents

By Michael R. Gordon New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The United States and the Soviet Union are moving toward an agreement that would allow American psychiatrists to visit Soviet mental hospitals to determine if dissidents are being imprisoned there, according to a State Department official.

Administration officials and outside specialists said such an understanding would be an important step toward deterring the use of punitive psychiatric treatment in the Soviet Union.

During meetings in Moscow last month with Dr. Loren H. Roth, a professor of psychiatry at the Western Psychiatric Institute and Clinic at the University of Pittsburgh, Soviet Health Ministry officials discussed the ground rules for a visit by American psychiatrists.

Dr. Roth, a specialist on involuntary confinement in mental hospitals, said Soviet officials were "basically receptive" to the ground rules for the visit. He said "important details still need to be worked out."

Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, said that Soviet officials "revealed a great interest" in the idea of a visit by American psychiatrists and that the Russians "agreed to most of Dr. Roth's suggestions."

"There seems to be a genuine interest in bringing the problem of abuse of psychiatry to an end," Dr. Schifter said.

Dr. Roth accompanied Dr. Schifter to Moscow for talks on human rights issues. The talks were held last month when Secretary of State George P. Shultz was in Moscow to discuss arms control issues with the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

Soviet and Western human rights experts have long charged that political and religious dissidents in the Soviet Union have been confined to mental hospitals.

In 1983, the Soviet Union reorganized the World Psychiatric Association rather than face a likely expulsion as a result of a report on the use of mental hospitals to imprison dissidents.

The Soviet Union has taken some steps toward ending the

abuses. In January, Moscow ordered that 18 so-called special psychiatric hospitals be transferred from police control to the control of the Ministry of Health. Moscow has also adopted a new set of mental patient rights.

A State Department official said "a hundred or so patients about whom we had questions" have recently been released. "We also have not had word of any new commitments on political and religious grounds" during the last 18 months, the official said.

But even with the new safeguards, the top ranks of Soviet psychiatry are still filled largely with the same officials who presided over the system in the 1970s and early 1980s, when the abuse of psychiatry was at its most rampant.

Western specialists and Soviet dissidents have no firm estimate on the number of Soviet dissidents hospitalized involuntarily. According to Sergei I. Grigoryants, the editor of the unofficial journal Glasnost, the estimates run from a few dozen to the low hundreds.

U.S. officials said they were still seeking formal agreement for the visit by American psychiatrists.

Paris Investigates Deaths of Kanaks

PARIS — The circumstances of a commando raid carried out to free 23 French hostages in New Caledonia under the previous rightist government will be investigated, Prime Minister Michel Rocard has announced.

A communiqué from Mr. Rocard's office said Saturday that France was "determined to shed all light on the events at Ouvéa," referring to a raid earlier this month in which 19 Melanesian separatist rebels, known as Kanaks, were killed.

It said two inspectors from the Department of Defense flew to the Pacific territory on Saturday to investigate Kanak charges that French soldiers killed several kidnappers after they had surrendered. The government earlier sent a six-man mission to "re-establish dialogue" between separatists and pro-French white settlers.

Giorgio Almirante, 73, Italy Neofascist, Dies

The Associated Press ROME — Giorgio Almirante, 73, for more than 40 years a leader in the Italian Social Movement, a neofascist party, died Sunday after a long battle with heart disease, according to the Italian news agency, ANSA.

Another former party leader and founder, Pino Romualdi, 77, died of cancer late Friday night and will be buried Monday.

A former official in the Mussolini government, Mr. Almirante helped found the Italian Social Movement in 1946 and saw it become Italy's fourth largest.

He stepped down as general secretary in December because of his health and was elected to the honorary post of party president. He was also a member of the European Parliament.

Mr. Romualdi was editor of the party newspaper. He was elected to the Chamber of Deputies seven

times between 1953 and 1979 and was a senator from 1983 to 1987.

Other deaths: Fei Yi-ming, 80, a Hong Kong publisher who was one of China's top advisers in Hong Kong, of a stroke Wednesday, his newspaper reported. He was a ranking member of a constitution for Hong Kong after it reverts to Chinese rule in 1997. (Reuters)

Daniel Lewis James, 77, who startled the literary world by writing, under the name Danny Santigo, the novel, "Famous All Over Town," about a Mexican-American family in a Los Angeles barrio, Wednesday in Monterey, California. (NYT)

Dr. Alexander Herzog Hirschfeld, 73, an American psychiatrist who was a leader in the field of occupational medicine, of respiratory failure Wednesday in Green Brae, California. (NYT)

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THE GORBACHEV INTERVIEW: 'The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the winds of hope.'

The Moscow Gorbachev: Careful and Controlled

By Robert G. Kaiser and David Rennick

WASHINGTON POST SERVICE MOSCOW — The Mikhail Gorbachev who welcomes visitors to his cavernous office in the Central Committee building on Moscow's Old Square is out the man who leaped out of his limousine in Washington last December to woo a startled lunch-time crowd.

The Moscow Gorbachev is a careful, controlled politician who brought with him to the pinnacle of Soviet society a kind of double past, a life in which an inclination for daring was tempered by his political ambitions and a sense of how far to go. Although he has made openness his general credo, there were times during his interview with The Washington Post and Newsweek when he decided reticence was the appropriate tactic.

Asked directly if he and his fellow Politburo member, Yegor K. Ligachev, had important disagreements, Mr. Gorbachev replied with general references to "lively and constant discussion" and "sometimes heated debate." But he studiously avoided any word or phrase that could be read as a direct reference to Mr. Ligachev.

Evidently, political tensions persist within the ruling Politburo. In the Soviet transcript of the inter-

view, prepared for domestic publication, all references to Mr. Ligachev's name were removed. In the interview, Mr. Gorbachev admitted limits to his immediate ambitions. The most difficult economic changes, he said, had been postponed until the next five-year plan, which will not be adopted until 1990.

Mr. Gorbachev learned the frustrations of practical economic reform in the late 1970s and early 1980s when he tried, with no success, to revive Soviet agriculture as the Central Committee secretary responsible for the farm sector.

NEWS ANALYSIS

While Mr. Gorbachev appeared at ease as he discussed his reform program, he straightened his chair and began tapping the table with his fingers and clenching his hands when asked pointed questions about how much independence East European countries could exercise, about his relationship with Mr. Ligachev, or the boundaries of freedom of expression in Soviet society.

At such moments, Mr. Gorbachev's voice dropped. That solemnity was a reminder that, for Mr. Gorbachev, this interview was largely for domestic consumption. A version of it was to be printed Monday in the Communist Party daily Pravda and other papers.

That the Moscow Gorbachev was more restrained than the Washington Gorbachev is no surprise. Soviet society is still deeply conservative, its political culture steeped in traditions that discourage the emergence of a colorful leading personality. When he reported to his countrymen on the December summit meeting in Washington, Mr. Gorbachev reassured his Moscow persona to describe his own personal triumph in America in dreary official tones.

Although he has been described as spontaneous, Mr. Gorbachev is anything but. He is the master of his own personality, able to slip on the appropriate mask — be it spontaneity or solemnity — as geography or policy demands.

Mr. Gorbachev is trained in the art of political self-discipline. While his university friends remember him as free-thinking and outspoken, Mr. Gorbachev climbed through the party ranks with a reputation for intelligence and honesty and an ability to curry favor with his superiors.

Now, Mr. Gorbachev is trying to combine his new and effective public personality with innovative policies to achieve a paradoxical goal: to make "revolutionary" changes in the Soviet Union, but to do so gradually and carefully, without upset.

"In our country and outside the country there are many people who are pushing us toward some kind of leap forward, toward some kind of very rapid movement," he said.

"But we are going to move in a calculated, measured way in continuous consultation with the people through a democratic process." His measured manner, correct but not stiff, confident and articulate, reinforced his message.

Again and again, Mr. Gorbachev returned to the theme that "democratic processes" — the involvement of the citizenry in debate over policy choices — will help him succeed where earlier reformers like Nikita S. Khrushchev and Leonid I. Brezhnev failed.

Mr. Gorbachev used both of their names, breaking through Soviet custom — failed in their efforts largely because of an absence of "democracy."

Mr. Gorbachev did acknowledge that "now we have more difficulties" than when perestroika, his policy of restructuring, was launched three years ago. Yet, he added, "it may be paradoxical, but now I am more confident in the political line we have chosen." He acknowledged that perestroika had not yet produced "noticeable changes" in social or economic life.

Perhaps "the most important product of perestroika," Mr. Gorbachev said, was that "people have become involved in the political process. They want to participate, to express their opinions and judgments. And that is wonderful."

In his first three years as Communist Party general secretary, his principal success has been ideological. Mr. Gorbachev has made radical reform the country's platform. He has introduced open debate, a lively press, publication of long-suppressed books and journals. But the better life that Mr. Gorbachev promised his people — improved food, consumer goods, housing, opportunities for travel and recreation — is still just a promise.

Making "democratization" an effective instrument of economic change is one of Mr. Gorbachev's trickier acts, because he wants to do it in a society that through centuries of rule by czars and commissars has had no tradition of public involvement in politics.

As he tries to stimulate the creation of a new political culture, Mr. Gorbachev clearly intends to retain many of the old limits. He has directed historians and the press to exploit glasnost, his policy of openness in society, to examine the crimes of the Stalin era and the corruption and stagnation that followed. He also has freed political prisoners and slowly permitted

more Soviets to leave the country if they wish. But Mr. Gorbachev revealed limits to his tolerance. Asked why, after he had promoted freedom of speech and the creation of "a socialist legal state," the authorities still harass and imprison dissidents who express unorthodox views, Mr. Gorbachev bridled.

One dissident, Sergei Grigoryants, about whom he was asked, is "some kind of alien phenomenon in our society springing on the democratic process," Mr. Gorbachev said.

Mr. Grigoryants spent a week in jail this month for his activities connected with publishing an independent journal of opinion and human rights reportage that he has cheekily named Glasnost.

Mr. Gorbachev said Soviet society was "strong enough to overcome such a thing" as Mr. Grigoryants, a revealing choice of language. He picked a word of power — "overcome" — rather than one of tolerance.

Mr. Gorbachev's habit, both as political and personal actor, has been to go further than his peers and audiences demand.

In the interview he explored areas that his immediate predecessors would never have touched: the failures of previous Soviet leaders, his

own failure to improve living standards, the price the country has paid for arbitrary government.

In three years as Soviet leader, Mr. Gorbachev has gone beyond what anyone ever expected of him. Glasnost may be an instrument,

and a limited one, but it has changed Soviet society profoundly, opening public discussion on sensitive topics that have been taboo for generations. Mr. Gorbachev said he hoped those changes would be "irreversible."

Many issues have already been resolved within the framework of the democratic process, while others will be resolved as Soviet society changes qualitatively in the course of perestroika. But that is unlikely. We are resolving these issues not because we want to play up to somebody or to please somebody, but because these are the interests of our society; because perestroika cannot be carried out without it, and, last but not least, because it is wanted by the Soviet people who have long outgrown the restrictions which they put up with in the past and which were to a certain extent an inevitable part of the unusual revolutionary development which we have gone through.

Once I said, and it seems to me, to an American: Please, show me a country that has no problems. Each country has problems of its own, human rights included. Of course, we are well-informed about the situation with political, social, economic and other rights in the United States. We know well the achievements and problems, but also the flaws of American society. But we do not tolerate interference in your home affairs, though we deem it right to express our views on the processes taking place in American society, on your administration's policy. But we do not want to make all this a reason for confrontation. We consider such an approach to be correct, fair, we see it as meeting the interests of Soviet-American relations and their future. I want to emphasize once again that we do not try to impose anything on the United States, but at the same time we resist attempts by any side to meddle in our affairs, no matter who tries to do so in your country.

Such is, in principle, our approach. At the same time, there are problems in the human rights sphere which require joint consideration. The mechanism of cooperation in that area has begun to take shape of late. Scientists, specialists and public representatives have been widely drawn into it. Specific issues are analyzed at their meetings in a calm atmosphere and businesslike manner.

We also welcome the accord on setting up a permanent body on human rights with the participation of deputies to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and U.S. congressmen. It is the duty of legislators in both countries to show concern for observance of the citizens' rights.

We are prepared to go on acting in this spirit. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to say the following. As it seems to me, pragmatism, preparedness to seek new decisions if what has been tested does not work is the Americans' forte. But they also have a trait — please, do not resent my frankness — which sometimes makes it difficult to deal with them. I mean their confidence that everything American is the best, while what others have is at least worse if not altogether bad and unfit for use. I am not talking about anticommunism, which has been implanted in the U.S.A. for decades, despite the fact that Albert Einstein called it "the greatest lie of the 20th century" many years ago.

For the sake of our mutual understanding, please, do not try to teach us to live according to American rules — it is altogether useless. And I repeat that, for our part, we do not intend to suggest our values to the Americans. Let each side live in its own way, respecting each other's choice and voluntarily exchanging the fruits of our labor in all spheres of human activity.

I am sure that each nation, each people does not lose but, conversely, wins if it looks at itself critically and does not ignore others' experience, if it is open to understanding of and respect for a different culture, a different way of thinking, different customs, lastly, a different political system, of course, if it is not terrorist, fascist or dictatorial.

[The Soviet leadership has concluded that demonstrations of nationalism in the Baltic republics, Armenia and other areas of the Soviet Union were precipitated in part by shortcomings in "internationalist education." Does your policy of perestroika [greater socialist pluralism] require fundamental changes in the way relations among Soviet nationalities are structured? Does this policy [your policy of perestroika] offer new ways of addressing the interests of cultural diversity and internationalism among nationalities?]

The question of changing the socialist principles of relations among the peoples, big and small, in our country is not on the agenda in the U.S.S.R. But we will set right the violations of these principles. It is such violations that caused the recent developments in some of our republics. The West has displayed, I would say, a morbid interest in them, not infrequently with anti-Soviet innuendo and bad intentions. It made lavish use of speculations aimed at weakening our multinational union.

Problems certainly do exist, and they are linked with the legacy we inherited from the time of the personality cult and the period of stagnation in the economy, social policy, spiritual life and human relations.

Internationalism, which is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of Soviet people of all nationalities, will help us resolve the problems of this sphere, too. And we will resolve them in the spirit of perestroika and in close linkage with the accomplishment of all the main tasks it involves, in the process of radical renewal of

Perestroika: Ridding the Soviet Union of Deformations of the Past

WASHINGTON POST SERVICE This is the complete English-language text supplied by the Soviet government in response to written questions submitted to Mikhail S. Gorbachev in March. The questions were requested in writing by the Soviets after The Washington Post asked for an interview with Mr. Gorbachev. In their written response, the Soviets revised some of the questions. Where the questions differ significantly, parts of the original questions submitted by The Washington Post appear in brackets.

Q: Have the three meetings with President Reagan changed your ideas as to how peaceful cooperation [competition] between capitalist and socialist countries should be regulated in the future? How do you think the forthcoming summit will contribute to stabilizing that competition? [Specifically, how do you see the prospects of achieving a detailed agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons that would stabilize superpower relations and make sure that neither side retains a credible first-strike option? Is it possible to also use your formulation — that a new world war does not correspond to the realities of the nuclear era — to argue that nuclear weapons have contributed to global stability in recent decades?]

A: I am convinced that positive trends are unfolding in the world. There is a turn from confrontation to coexistence. The winds of the Cold War are being replaced by the winds of hope. And I see that a significant role in that process is being played by the signs of improvement in the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. All over the world there is an acute need for change or, if you wish, a need for restructuring international relations. In that situation it is essential to continue positive contacts between the East and the West.

As for the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is simply vital because of the great role they play in today's world. The very fact of that dialogue is working for peace, not to mention its content with such exceptionally important joint statements as those regarding the inadmissibility of wars, nuclear or any other, the necessity of resolving problems by political means and of recognizing the realities of today's world.

It is very important that all this has sounded loud and clear for the whole world to hear, and we have seen how the world has responded to it. All this leads to the following conclusion: Yes, we are all different and will remain so. We will remain loyal to our ideas and our way of life. But we have a common responsibility, especially our two great powers, and our every action must measure up to that responsibility.

As for the potential results of the upcoming fourth meeting with the president and, notably, the prospects for a detailed agreement on a 50 percent cut in strategic offensive weapons, the past few months and weeks have seen so much speculation that I would like to make the following point: Be patient, the meeting is just a few days away. Let the president and I work together. Whatever we arrive at will certainly not be concealed from the public.

There are two more points to be made here, though. The very continuation of the Soviet-American dialogue at the summit level is important and substantive. In any case, I hope our attention will be focused on the main international problems, like at the previous meetings, and that we will be able to rise to a new level of dialogue and mutual understanding.

And next, if an agreement on a 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons comes to be drafted under the present U.S. administration, I see no reason why President Reagan and I should not sign it. I would certainly welcome that.

Q: Many people in the West think that nuclear weapons have been instrumental in maintaining stability in the world over the past few decades. Would it not be more rational for the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. in those conditions to agree on preserving minimal nuclear deterrents? [Might it not be more realistic to seek to identify and negotiate with the United States a permanent minimal nuclear deterrent, perhaps of several hundred strategic warheads on each side, than continue to strive for the complete abolition of nuclear weapons?]

A: I cannot agree with those who think that the drive for a nuclear-free world is hopeless. I have argued more than once with representatives of the West over their case that without nuclear weapons we would never have survived for 40 years without another world war. This is just a conjecture. But what about a sober evaluation of the real role played by the so-called "balance of fear"? It has given us nothing but unheard-of militarization of foreign policies, economies and even intellectual life. It has caused damage in the sphere of international morality and ethics and has killed the atmosphere of mutual trust, friendliness and sincere interest in each other which was born in Soviet-American relations in the years of joint warfare and victory over fascism.

I am convinced that strategic military parity can be maintained at a low level and without nuclear weapons. We have clearly formulated our choice: to stop, then reverse the arms race. As for the so-called "minimal nuclear deter-

rence," I will not argue over with the proponents of that idea. So far, you and we have more than 10,000 warheads each in our strategic arsenals. Let us first cut them by 50 percent. Maybe then by another 50 percent and then once again. In the meantime, let us come to terms on the elimination of chemical weapons and start reducing conventional armaments in Europe. That process should be open not only for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. but for all other nuclear and nonnuclear states. That will be an important incentive for the demilitarization of political ways of thinking and international relations in general.

And, another point: If we start orienting ourselves on a "minimal nuclear deterrence" now, I assure you that nuclear weapons will start spreading around the world, devaluing and undermining even what we can achieve at the Soviet-American talks and at the negotiations among the now existing nuclear states.

A peaceful future for mankind can be guaranteed not by "nuclear deterrence," but by a balance of reason and good will and by a system of comprehensive security.

Q: The NATO leaders have announced that even with a balance in the conventional forces [if a parity of conventional forces were achieved] in Europe, nuclear weapons will still need to be preserved on the continent as a means of retaliation [would still be needed in Europe to pose an unacceptable risk for an aggressor]. If, in keeping with that position, nuclear disarmament is unacceptable for the West, should we not try to reach a joint agreement on the terms of modernization of the tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe? [How does this reaffirmation of the role of nuclear weapons in Europe affect your intention to rid Europe of nuclear weapons? What do you intend as your next step toward this goal, and how do you plan to address the concerns of the Western allies? If denuclearization is not possible, should the two sides seek to come to a joint statement on the terms of modernizing short-range nuclear weapons stationed in Europe?]

A: The talk about nuclear weapons on the continent as a means of retaliation is the same old concept of a "limited" nuclear war in Europe. It absolutely contradicts what I conferred with the U.S. president about back in Geneva — notably, that nuclear war cannot be won and simply must not be allowed to happen. Can you really not see that materialization of the formula of modernizing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe is fraught with the danger of a nuclear catastrophe in the center of the continent?

I know of the NATO statements concerning nuclear weapons. But I also know that people are thinking not only at NATO headquarters, but also in public, scientific and government circles. There are already a number of ideas which have authoritative supporters both in the East and West of Europe — 00 ways of reducing conventional armaments, including dual-purpose systems, from the Atlantic to the Urals. We support the ideas of nuclear-free zones in northern Europe and in the Balkans. We are also in favor of a 300-kilometer corridor free of all nuclear and any other heavy weapons in central Europe. I am naming just some ideas but certainly not all.

I am positive that it is here, in such intermediate projects, that we should seek ways of removing the threat of nuclear war, instead of clinging to nuclear weapons which do not lead to genuine security in any version. The ideas that you mention in your question are self-defeating.

As for deterrence, isn't awareness of the very fact that a strike at nuclear power stations and chemical plants even with conventional weapons would be lethal for densely populated Europe enough of a deterrent to war?

Q: NATO suggested curbing tens of thousands of nonnuclear weapons that could be used for surprise or large-scale offensive operations. Does this approach fall within the boundaries of your stated willingness to negotiate on the basis of asymmetrical reductions?

A: On our side, there are no obstacles to that. As for the existing asymmetries in the arsenals of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, I have already expressed my views on that score many times: Asymmetries exist on both sides. We stand for the elimination of asymmetry on the basis of reciprocity. For example, the Warsaw Treaty armies have more tanks. And the NATO armies have more attack planes. The Soviet Union and our allies are ready to eliminate these and other asymmetries without delay but, let me repeat, on the basis of reciprocity. And then it would be possible to balance armaments

on the lowest possible level sufficient only for defense.

We are not satisfied with the pace of the Vienna consultations of the 23 countries elaborating the objective and format of the future conference. If the work in Vienna proceeds in the same on-again, off-again manner, Europe will have to wait for a long time for those asymmetries to be eliminated.

Quite possibly — I would say even certainly — there are people whose such a situation suits just fine. But I believe that they will be unable to adhere to their positions for long. Quarters which realize that the issue of the dangerous level of armed forces on the European continent should be resolved at all costs are becoming stronger.

Q: In the months remaining of the Reagan presidency, what is required to broaden your personal relationship with the president into an institutional relationship and carry both into the future?

A: The experience of present-day international relations shows the paramount importance of meetings between leaders of states, all the more so when the case in point is the United States and the Soviet Union. Since both countries are well aware of the need for intensifying the dialogue and improving relations, it is absolutely obvious that it is not only the leaders' personal views that matter. This is the imperative of our time. This is the striving of our peoples. Such is the constant in the Soviet-American dialogue. It remains intact. And if we add to that the experience we have accumulated, all these factors taken together give rise to hopes for continuity and even for intensified contacts and improved mutual understanding. However, let me repeat that everything rests on the interests of our countries and peoples, not on the sentiments of individual political figures or their personal motives. No one can allow relations to slide to a point beyond which the unpredictable may happen. Such is the basis for continuing and developing the Soviet-American dialogue. It will remain the same in the future as well.

In a word, we are interested in developing the dialogue, we will strive to make it more productive. We will try to facilitate the "adaptation" of the new U.S. administration to contacts with us, and will do everything within our power to keep the process begun in Geneva in 1983 from stopping. And, naturally enough, we hope for the same attitude on the American side.

Q: Do you feel President Reagan is a different kind of American leader? Which of his qualities and/or ideas would you most hope to see his successor hold as well? Has he been able to persuade you that the military-industrial complex does not determine U.S. policy?

A: As is known, I made President Reagan's acquaintance in Geneva less than three years ago. We have maintained contacts in various forms ever since. There were three one-on-one meetings. The fourth is approaching.

I'm not particularly fond of giving personal character references. But since you ask, I would like to say that realism is an important quality in President Reagan as a politician. By this I mean the ability to adapt one's views to the changing situation, while remaining faithful to one's convictions.

Who would have thought in the early '80s, both in the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., that it

would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first nuclear arms reduction treaty in history? However, the sober-minded realization that the world has changed and that the interests of our countries are changing enabled the president to take a fresh look at existing realities, while holding to his well-known convictions. And don't the leaders of such powers as the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., which bear a unique responsibility for the destiny of the modern-day world, really need such qualities as the ability to give up dogmas and discard outdated ideas for the sake of making progress?

For the goal in question is the most noble — ridding our peoples and all humanity of the nuclear nightmare, building new relations and improving the international situation.

As for the military-industrial complex, let me remind you that it wasn't us, it was one of the predecessors of the current president, Dwight Eisenhower, also a Republican, who came up with that notion.

It seems unlikely that he made a mistake. But is that complex the only force shaping American policy? Hardly so, although, let me repeat,

its influence is substantial. And it makes itself felt especially obviously and candidly whenever there are signs of positive change in the disarmament sphere, whenever there are prospects for reaching agreements in that field, and whenever Congress is about to consider military budgets and other allocations for armaments. But to quote the ancient Greek philosophers, all is a state of flux, nothing stays still. If the process of disarmament proceeds actively, if corporations receive fewer military-related orders and if the U.S. stops wielding a "big stick" every time something happens tens of thousands of kilometers away from the U.S. — something pictured as a threat to America's national interests — then we will be able to discuss that matter again.

Q: The Americans are familiar with the rapid erosion that occurred in the situation in Vietnam once they decided to withdraw from that war. [How does the Soviet Union propose to avoid such an erosion over that the outline of the withdrawal from Afghanistan has been drawn? If attacks on Soviet units increase during the withdrawal, what military response will the Soviet Union make? What changes, in your view, will take place in Afghanistan in the next year while the Soviet Union is pulling out its troops? What will the Soviet Union's contribution to bringing about those changes be? [Conversely, what will the impact of the Afghan situation have been on Soviet civilian and military leadership and society?]

A: Any parallel between Vietnam and Afghanistan is artificial. Not to mention how different the nature of the conflicts is. I would only like to remind you of the fact that prior to the Americans pulling out of Vietnam, that country was divided for 20 years into two nearly equal parts by a border along the 17th Parallel. In both sections, there existed governments personifying regimes opposite in nature and incompatible in aim.

There is nothing of that kind in Afghanistan. On the contrary, the government there has set itself the goal of achieving the Afghan people's national reconciliation and, on this basis, its own reorganization into a coalition government with the participation of all parties to the conflict.

It goes without saying that the future depends in many respects on how honestly and consistently all the signatories to the Geneva agreements will meet the commitments assumed, without their trying to get around them in some way or another or deceive their partners.

I can reaffirm once again that the Soviet Union intends to meet its obligations precisely and unconditionally.

Q: The Americans themselves who are to decide how the settlement will proceed, what changes are to take place in Afghanistan in the future. We adhere firmly to this principle, which means noninterference in internal affairs. The Soviet Union will render assistance to Afghanistan in dealing with the consequences of the war, in strengthening the Afghan economy. In a word, it will act in keeping with the long-standing traditions of good-neighborliness and friendship with this southern neighbor of ours, undoubtedly respecting its status as an independent, neutral and nonaligned state.

Q: You said that when the Afghan knot is untied, it will have the most profound impact on other regional conflicts, too. Is the Soviet Union prepared to cooperate with the United States and other countries in resolving other conflicts, for example in Central America, the Gulf and Angola?

A: Yes, it is prepared. I have already said that given constructive cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States and major emphasis on the prestige and capabilities of the United Nations, its Security Council and other bodies, political settlement of regional conflicts and prevention of new ones will gradually become an international practice, a norm. I would like to confirm this conviction of mine.

The world has ample proof that dragged-out conflicts are the result of policies being exposed to pressure from outdated stereotypes. They are orthodox approaches to national security, with power politics being preferred to sober considerations and political boldness, the old habit of seeking to satisfy one's rights and interests at other people's expense, and a shortage of fairness and humanitarianism in international relations.

The president and I have discussed this more than once and we will have a chance to take up these matters at the forthcoming meeting, too. Of course, such talk can be productive only if there is respect for the right of every people to choose their own road.

Q: Recalling her talks with you, Mrs. (Margaret) Thatcher drew a comparison between the criticism and resistance a Western leader faces in bringing change and what you have encountered in pushing perestroika [restructuring] and glasnost [openness]. She wished you success. Is the comparison accurate? Or is it fundamentally different? More so, because, by glasnost you seem to mean something different from what we think of as freedom of speech. Could you elaborate on the differences?

A: I appreciate the kind words Mrs. Thatcher addresses to us now and then. However, I cannot help saying that I disagree with her

views on ways to preserve peace, her dedication to nuclear deterrence and her assessments of socialism.

About the similarities and dissimilarities of economic policy in this country and in the West: Of course, it is possible to find a likeness, formal at least, in anything and such a likeness does exist if you do not go into the essence of one reform or another. However, it is the difference of principle that matters. What is taking place in the U.S.S.R. is an all-embracing process of revolutionary renovation of socialist society on the basis of the historic choice which we do not doubt and which proved in principle the only correct one for our people 70 years ago. Otherwise the country with which you are discussing things that affect the future of the world as a whole would not exist. Of course, combating stagnation in the course of perestroika and dismantling the mechanism of retardation require that sluggishness and conservatism be overcome. Sometimes we are confronted with

heretic impatience. There is also conscious resistance on the part of those whose narrow selfish interests are incompatible with perestroika, socially, economically or morally.

However, this is precisely what we mean by perestroika, in the course of which we want to renovate our society, upgrade its quality-wise. Perestroika is proceeding in width and depth, encompassing all public groups and all our territory. Perestroika is growing and gaining momentum.

As for glasnost, it and freedom of speech are, of course, interconnected. However, these are not identical things. I would put it this way: While freedom of speech is indispensable for glasnost, we see glasnost as a broader phenomenon. For us it is not just the right of every citizen to openly say what he or she thinks about all social and political questions, but also the duty of the ruling party and all bodies of authority and administration to ensure openness in decision-making, be accountable for their actions, act on criticism and consider advice and recommendations from the shop floor, public organizations and individuals.

Glasnost accentuates an environment allowing citizens to effectively participate in discussing all of the country's affairs, in elaborating and making decisions that affect the interests of all of us and in monitoring the implementation of these decisions.

Q: Could you discuss what ideas from abroad have had an influence in the formation of your political and economic thinking and your mode of action? Conversely, what is the effect of glasnost and perestroika in other socialist countries?

A: In my book on perestroika published by Harper & Row, I wrote that our new political thinking is a result of our comprehension of the realities of the nuclear age, the fruit of deep and self-critical reflections on the past and present of our own country and the surrounding world.

The new thinking took into account and absorbed the conclusions and demands of the Nonaligned Movement, of the public and the scientific community, of the movements of physicians, scientists and ecologists, and of various antiwar organizations. We also take into consideration the experience of other socialist countries just as they take ours into account. The process of mutual enrichment with experience, in which no one tries to impose any models on others, is under way.

Yes, all of us really do understand our dependence on one another better and feel that we live in an interrelated world and that all of us are inseparable parts of the single present-day civilization.

Q: [Added by the Soviets: Judging by the president's statements, you disagree with him on human rights.] At the same time, your dramatic decision to free Andrei Sakharov and [to telephone him immediately after doing so and] to ease the conditions of emigration for some Soviet Jews who desire to live abroad have attracted attention around the world. [What made you decide to call Sakharov and to ease up on emigration and what results do you feel these decisions have achieved in the Soviet Union? What further steps do you plan in this direction?]

A: Our perestroika, the main factor of which is creative effort, also includes doing away with all deformations of the past years, with everything that hampers manifestation of the humanitarian essence of socialism.

We know our problems and speak honestly and openly about them. The process of democratization does not bypass the sphere of human rights and liberties. We are enhancing the political and public status of the human personality.

Q: [The Soviet leadership has concluded that demonstrations of nationalism in the Baltic republics, Armenia and other areas of the Soviet Union were precipitated in part by shortcomings in "internationalist education." Does your policy of perestroika [greater socialist pluralism] require fundamental changes in the way relations among Soviet nationalities are structured? Does this policy [your policy of perestroika] offer new ways of addressing the interests of cultural diversity and internationalism among nationalities?]

A: The question of changing the socialist principles of relations among the peoples, big and small, in our country is not on the agenda in the U.S.S.R. But we will set right the violations of these principles. It is such violations that caused the recent developments in some of our republics. The West has displayed, I would say, a morbid interest in them, not infrequently with anti-Soviet innuendo and bad intentions. It made lavish use of speculations aimed at weakening our multinational union.

Problems certainly do exist, and they are linked with the legacy we inherited from the time of the personality cult and the period of stagnation in the economy, social policy, spiritual life and human relations.

Internationalism, which is deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of Soviet people of all nationalities, will help us resolve the problems of this sphere, too. And we will resolve them in the spirit of perestroika and in close linkage with the accomplishment of all the main tasks it involves, in the process of radical renewal of

the framework of the democratic process, while others will be resolved as Soviet society changes qualitatively in the course of perestroika. But that is unlikely. We are resolving these issues not because we want to play up to somebody or to please somebody, but because these are the interests of our society; because perestroika cannot be carried out without it, and, last but not least, because it is wanted by the Soviet people who have long outgrown the restrictions which they put up with in the past and which were to a certain extent an inevitable part of the unusual revolutionary development which we have gone through.

Once I said, and it seems to me, to an American: Please, show me a country that has no problems. Each country has problems of its own, human rights included. Of course, we are well-informed about the situation with political, social, economic and other rights in the United States. We know well the achievements and problems, but also the flaws of American society. But we do not tolerate interference in your home affairs, though we deem it right to express our views on the processes taking place in American society, on your administration's policy. But we do not want to make all this a reason for confrontation. We consider such an approach to be correct, fair, we see it as meeting the interests of Soviet-American relations and their future. I want to emphasize once again that we do not try to impose anything on the United States, but at the same time we resist attempts by any side to meddle in our affairs, no matter who tries to do so in your country.

Such is, in principle, our approach. At the same time, there are problems in the human rights sphere which require joint consideration. The mechanism of cooperation in that area has begun to take shape of late. Scientists, specialists and public representatives have been widely drawn into it. Specific issues are analyzed at their meetings in a calm atmosphere and businesslike manner.

We also welcome the accord on setting up a permanent body on human rights with the participation of deputies to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and U.S. congressmen. It is the duty of legislators in both countries to show concern for observance of the citizens' rights.

We are prepared to go on acting in this spirit. Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to say the following. As it seems to me, pragmatism, preparedness to seek new decisions if what has been tested does not work is the Americans' forte. But they also have a trait — please, do not resent my frankness — which sometimes makes it difficult to deal with them. I mean their confidence that everything American is the best, while what others have is at least worse if not altogether bad and unfit for use. I am not talking about anticommunism, which has been implanted in the U.S.A. for decades, despite the fact that Albert Einstein called it "the greatest lie of the 20th century" many years ago.

For the sake of our mutual understanding, please, do not try to teach us to live according to American rules — it is altogether useless. And I repeat that, for our part, we do not intend to suggest our values to the Americans. Let each side live in its own way, respecting each other's choice and voluntarily exchanging the fruits of our labor in all spheres of human activity.

I am sure that each nation, each people does not lose but, conversely, wins if it looks at itself critically and does not ignore others' experience, if it is open to understanding of and respect for a different culture, a different way of thinking, different customs, lastly, a different political system, of course, if it is not terrorist, fascist or dictatorial.

THE GORBACHEV INTERVIEW: 'The most expensive mistakes are political mistakes.'

Text of Interview: Emphasis on Reforms and Cooperation With U.S.

Washington Post Service
Following is the full transcript of a 90-minute interview of General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev by senior executive and editors of The Washington Post and Newsweek.

Graham: Well, we are aware that you are following many things, in particular events in our country, and that you read a lot and remember everything (laughter).

Gorbachev: Well, someone recommended me very well to you. I must extend to you Mrs. Gorbachev's warmest regards.

Graham: Thank you. We had such a nice meeting in Washington. I was hoping perhaps to be able to see her here, but if not please give her my best regards.

Gorbachev: She is not an easily manageable person (laughter).

Graham: They say that about all of us.

Gorbachev: There is an interesting phrase, I think, of Engels. He used to say that a woman is an entire civilization.

Kaiser: (Pointing to a portrait on the office wall) Engels is right here. (Everyone is seated and questioning begins.)

Gorbachev: How are things in Washington? Everybody is getting ready for the summit and thousands of people are going to come here. And everybody is looking forward with great expectation and great hopes to this occasion.

Gorbachev: The summit boom that used to be in Washington is now moving to Moscow.

'I think we have learned from the past, which is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democratization.'

And that is good. It is good that the dialogue is continuing. The dialogue can have ups and downs, and I guess it does have this kind of evolution.

Gorbachev: Well, everybody is getting ready for the summit and thousands of people are going to come here. And everybody is looking forward with great expectation and great hopes to this occasion.

Gorbachev: The summit boom that used to be in Washington is now moving to Moscow.

Graham: Well, you have, together with President Reagan, Mr. (George P.) Shultz and Mr. (Edward A.) Shevardnadze. I believe, have established an entirely new kind of productive discussion that certainly has been missing for many years.

Gorbachev: Yes, and I think that is the most important thing. Though I do value the actual, specific agreements that we have signed, such as the INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) agreement, it seems to me that the most important political result of the recent period is the improvement in our relations: the regular and very productive political dialogue that we have begun.

Graham: Thank you, I feel that our... Gorbachev: I began to ask you questions in order to seize the initiative (laughter). I have answered your written questions and so now it is time to just have a conversation.

Graham: I want to begin by thanking you for answering the written questions. We have much to write about from these questions, and we are grateful for your frankness in them. We would like to cover as many of the areas of mutual interest as is possible in this meeting.

Let me begin by saying that in the process of preparing for this meeting, everywhere we have gone we have been told how many problems you face, how difficult they will be to resolve. Many people are awed by the audacity of your undertaking. I wonder if you yourself sometimes have moments when you think seems overwhelming or impossible when you hesitate. I want to ask, why will your reform programs succeed, when those of your predecessors, say, like Nikita Khrushchev, have not succeeded?

Gorbachev: I think you have asked the principal question, whose answer our people want to know, and I think Americans do, too, because, one way or another, it is the fate of our two countries, two peoples, whether we want it or not, to live together and to cooperate. And that means that we have to know each other better.

First of all, about our plans. Those plans are truly grandiose. It is precisely for that reason that we call our perestroika (restructuring) revolutionary. You know, it may be paradoxical, but now I am more confident in the political line we have chosen for perestroika, for the renewal of our society, than at the beginning of this road, although we now have more difficulties than before.

What is the explanation for that? I think that we do know better now what we want and how to do it. Therefore we have more confidence. Tomorrow at the Central Committee of the Communist Party we will be discussing the documents being prepared for the 19th national party conference. I can say even now that the national party conference will give a second wind to all our plans and into all our work to implement these plans.

But I think I would sound overconfident to you if I just confined myself to what I just said. It is obvious that making decisions at this critical juncture in our life is something that carries great responsibility—above all, responsibility to our people. We are not insured against mistakes, but we want to minimize the number we make and we don't want to make major mistakes.

The most expensive mistakes are political mistakes. We want to insure ourselves against major mistakes, and therefore we want our decisions, at least our principal decisions, to be prepared with the involvement of our society, the intellectual forces of our country. We want them to be prepared democratically. This, we believe, is the main guarantee against mistakes. So that is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democratization and openness and public debate, glasnost, in our country. We shall not retreat from that. Moreover, the greatest progress that will grow out of

the forthcoming decisions of the party conference will be precisely in this area.

I have now approached the answer to the second part of your question. Of course, already many years ago in our party and in our society, I think that people understood the need for reform, the need for renewal of our country.

Attention: I would say major attempts, were made at that time by Nikita Khrushchev and the leadership of his time to introduce major reforms. I would say that in the [Leonid] Brezhnev period, too, the leadership of that time conceived and was trying to implement major reforms.

But those reforms did not bear fruit, and I think the main reason for that is that those reforms did not rely, the process of reforms did not rely on the main, decisive force—and that is the involvement of the people in modernizing and restructuring our country. I think we have learned from the past, which is why we are so persistent in developing the process of democratization.

Therefore, for us the words that have become popular, "More democracy, more socialism," are not just a slogan or a pretty formulation. This is a well thought out concept. Through the development of the process of democratization, through improvements in the economic, political, social and spiritual areas, we can reveal the potential of socialism and all that is part of this system.

We now have three years of hard work under perestroika under our belts, so we can say confidently that perestroika has become a national cause.

Probably many generations of our people, and certainly my generation, cannot recall a time of such great activity and great interest. People are discussing the activities of party organs, government bodies and economic enterprises—in general everything that is happening in the country. Everything is being discussed. There is intense interest of the people in all that. And that means an end to stagnation, an end to apathy. This is a turbulent time, a turbulent sea in which it is not easy to sail the ship, but we have a compass and we have a crew to guide that ship. And the ship itself is strong.

Hoagland: I wonder if we can pursue a couple of specific points on perestroika. As you say, it's a turbulent time and that there are more difficulties in some areas now than there were before. Price reform is an awfully important area in perestroika. It's also... The system here of subsidies has been part of the old social contract between the citizens and the government, meaning that every Soviet citizen gets a 3 ruble (\$5) subsidy on a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of meat, a 30-kopeck (50-U.S.-cent) subsidy on each liter (1.057 quart) of milk that's sold.

Are you persuaded that this has to be changed, these subsidies that cost the government so much? And, if so, how urgently, and how will you change it?

Gorbachev: We have been discussing this problem, and not only in the government but in society, too. People in Moscow can confirm that there is a vigorous debate on these questions in our press. The people involved in that debate include workers, rank-and-file people, collective farmers, intellectuals, veterans—because this concerns the whole society. And, of course, our experts on these questions are also taking part.

In the whole complex of measures that are covered by the term "radical economic reform," prices and price formation occupy a significant place. They are of great importance. When I speak about prices, I mean wholesale prices, purchasing prices, and also retail prices. What we think we should do is to formulate the next five-year plan on the basis of new prices. So this is the answer to that part of your question where you spoke about the time frame for that.

Now the question is how to approach that. Let me say that we have come to a conclusion, and this is the point of view of both our government and our research institutions. And this is the conclusion we have conveyed to the people in the preliminary discussion of this question: that the reform of the price and price formation in the Soviet Union should not, must not, result in the lowering of the actual standard of living of our workers.

So you may ask, then what's the point? Well, the point is that prices should be consistent with actual economic processes, with real costs and with the real contribution of the workers. That would create a healthier financial system. And on that basis it would be possible to better

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GORBACHEV: Joint Mars Trip

(Continued from page 1)

friendly brown eyes that draw and keep the gaze of a visitor on him, and conspicuous neatness. He conducted the 90-minute interview without reference to notes and with one side present.

[Appearing on an ABC-TV interview program, Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Sunday that the interview indicated it was "quite apparent he wants to see things move forward, and I think that's good."

[Mr. Shultz said the proposal for a joint Mars mission "caught a lot of attention" in the Reagan administration but "has to be studied carefully" within the context of last year's agreement covering joint efforts in space.

Showing occasional flashes of the exuberance and charm that have made him a well-known and popular figure around the world, Mr. Gorbachev sought to create a positive tone for the May 29-June 2 visit by Mr. Reagan, who Mr. Gorbachev made clear had surprised and impressed him.

"Who would have thought in the early eighties... that it would be President Reagan who would sign with us the first nuclear arms reduction treaty in history?" Mr. Gorbachev said, praising Mr. Reagan's "realism" and his willingness to "take a fresh look at the existing realities, while holding in his well-known convictions."

Toying with his eyeglass case in the opening minutes of the interview, but quickly putting it aside as he took control of the meeting, Mr. Gorbachev displayed a lively, engaged intellect as he threaded his way through questions on Eastern Europe, economic reform, human rights and other topics.

He invoked the biblical story of Jesus feeding the multitude with five loaves of bread to make the point that he, like other mortals, could not perform miracles.

He referred to Greek philosophy, quoted Friedrich Engels' remark that "a woman is an entire civilization," and jokingly apologized for the absence of his wife, Raisa, saying with a laugh, "She is not an easily manageable person."

As he spoke of preparations for the first U.S.-Soviet summit meeting in Moscow in 14 years, enthusiasm infused his soft, baritone voice, which resonated throughout the large office. But his mood shifted into sober reflection and deliberation when the Soviet leader was questioned about his turbulent domestic political scene.

He likened the heated debates that have erupted around his program of perestroika, or "restructuring," to "a turbulent sea in which it is not easy to sail the ship." But he added, "We have a compass and we have a crew to guide that ship. And the ship itself is strong."

The conversation between Mr.

Gorbachev and Katharine Graham, chairman of the board of The Washington Post Co. and four senior editors from The Washington Post and Newsweek magazine was conducted on Wednesday in his spacious, fifth-floor office in the Communist Party Central Committee headquarters.

His remarks were in Russian and were interpreted by The Washington Post.

The written text to the earlier questions dealt largely with foreign policy; the conversation was dominated by questions and answers about domestic affairs.

Among points made by Mr. Gorbachev were:

• The Soviet Union will help Afghanistan "in dealing with the consequences of the war, in strengthening the Afghan economy" after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops. His formulation did not specify if military aid would be included.

• He reaffirmed a declaration he made in Belgrade in March that East Europeans were free to choose their own political systems. But he voiced confidence that they would "continue along the path" of communist voluntarism, and he declined to criticize Soviet military intervention in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968.

• Mr. Gorbachev said he favored setting fixed terms for senior party officials, including his own post. He indicated this might be presented at a party conference in June.

• He sharply dismissed reports of serious differences in the Politburo over perestroika, labeling as "Western media" creations accounts that he and Yegor K. Ligachev, the No. 2 official, were locked in a power struggle.

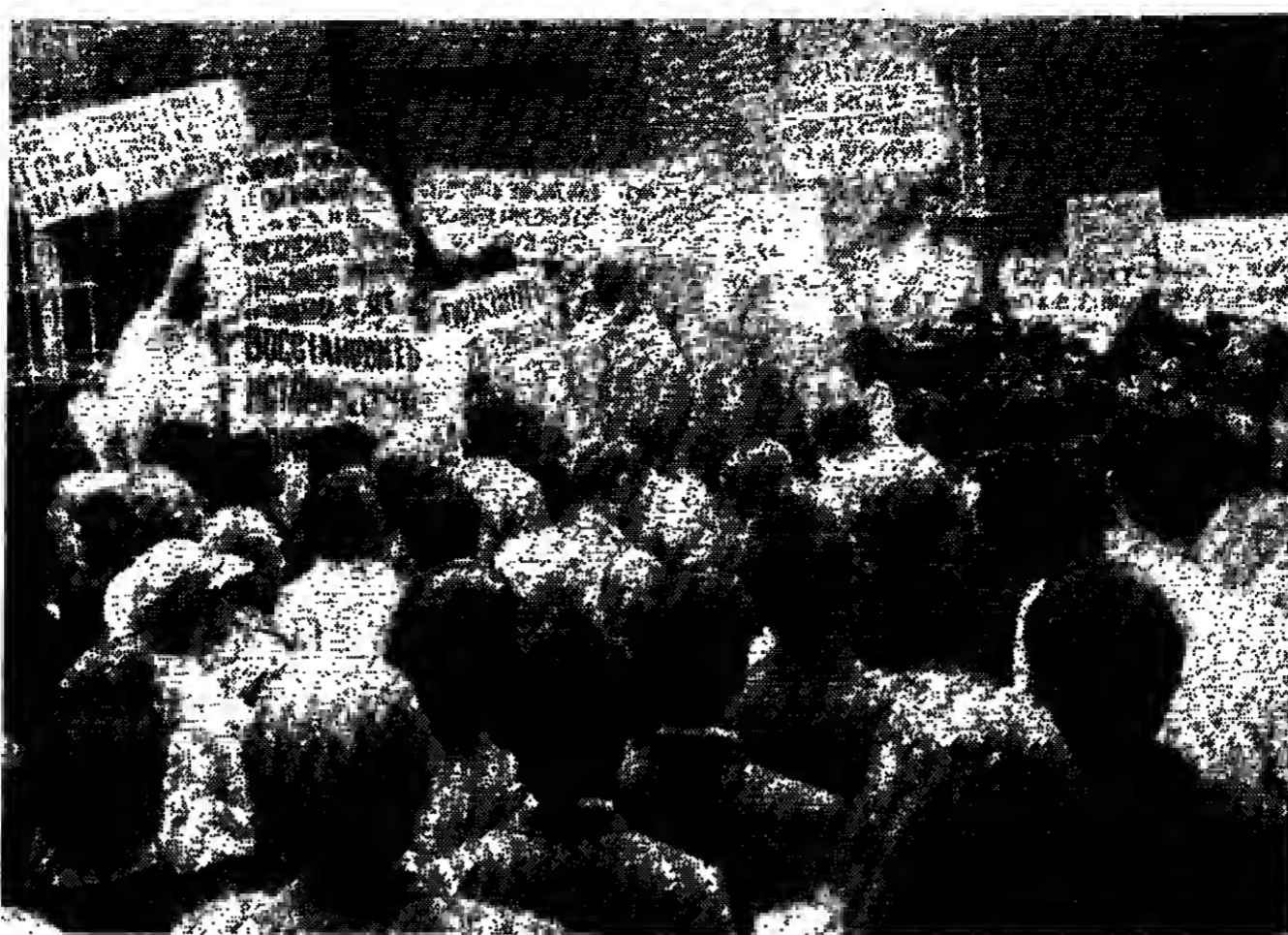
• But a decision by Soviet authorities to drop Mr. Ligachev's name from the Russian-language version of The Washington Post-Newsweek interview, which will be published in Pravda on Monday, underscored sensitivity about such reports in the Soviet Union.

Asked to reconcile his self-described policy of encouraging freedom of speech with recent arrests and harassment of Soviet political dissidents, he said Soviet citizens could raise criticism "only within the boundaries of socialism, and on the basis of socialist values."

Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged that "heated debate" had erupted over perestroika within the Soviet populace and leadership. "The whole country is now an enormous debating society," he said.

Efforts by Nikita S. Khrushchev and others to revitalize the Soviet Union failed because they did not, he said, rely on "the involvement of the people in modernizing and restructuring our country."

"I think we have learned from the past," Mr. Gorbachev said who asked about Mr. Khrushchev, who was deposed in 1964. Mr. Gorbachev quickly estab-



Around 300 people held a demonstration at the Armenian cemetery in Moscow on Sunday to demand information on the situation in Azerbaijan where fresh unrest has been reported. Violence in the republic last February caused a number of Armenian deaths.

lished a pattern of frankly acknowledging problems at home and then asserting that perestroika and Soviet society were strong enough to overcome them. The June conference, he said, would give perestroika "a second wind" and permit "corrective measures."

The second trait he evinced in person was a strong sense of caution, which led him to balance his ideas as he developed them.

He endorsed far-reaching and visionary goals, such as price reform, in the interview. But he tempered that idea, and others, with measured descriptions of the "carefully conceived and balanced proposals" that would gradually bring price reform and promised that they would not lower living standards.

Offering his visitors plates of traditional cookies and cakes, he sipped a small cup of coffee. Seated beside him at the polished hardwood table was a personal assistant, Anatoli Chernyev.

Both in his written answers and in his spoken remarks, Mr. Gorbachev displayed pride and a sense of accomplishment in the close working relationship that he and Mr. Reagan have developed since their first meeting, in Geneva in 1985.

Avoiding the type of direct criticisms of the United States that have routinely marked public comments by Soviet officials in the past, Mr. Gorbachev conceded that U.S. policy did not appear to be

determined solely by a military-industrial complex.

He proposed that the two nations continue the arms talks now under way in Geneva in their present form if he and Mr. Reagan failed to reach an agreement before the president's term ended.

"We are ready to work," he said. "We don't want to waste any time. We are prepared to continue."

Earlier, in response to a question about his summit diplomacy with President Reagan, he outlined in writing his concept of the "turn from confrontation to coexistence" that he feels the two nations have taken.

"We are all different and will remain so," he wrote. "We will remain loyal to our ideas and our way of life. But we have a common responsibility."

He added, "The very continuation of Soviet-American dialogue at the summit level is important and substantive."

Asked to evaluate Mr. Reagan, Mr. Gorbachev said, in the written answers:

"I am not particularly fond of giving personal character references. But since you ask, I would like to say that realism is an important quality in President Reagan as a politician. By this I mean the ability to adapt one's views to the changing situation, while remaining faithful to one's convictions."

Soviet and American leaders "need such qualities as the ability to give up dogmas and discard outdated ideas for the sake of making progress," he wrote.

While according credit to Mr. Reagan, the Soviet leader also implied that the major factor in ending an era of open hostility between Washington and Moscow had been a change in Mr. Reagan's view of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged indirectly that no significant new arms control agreement would be concluded at the summit meeting.

He again opposed Mr. Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, which would put an anti-ballistic missile shield in space, and U.S. plans for a major deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles.

Mr. Gorbachev unveiled his plan to propose to Mr. Reagan that the two nations cooperate on a joint mission to Mars as an alternative to a full SDI program.

During the Washington summit meeting last December, Ronald Z. Sagdeyev, a Soviet science official close to Mr. Gorbachev, described publicly his own detailed proposal for unmanned missions to Mars that would begin by 1994.

The 1975 Apollo-Soyuz docking and a 1987 Soviet-American treaty for cooperation on space exploration were precedents, he said.

In his written answers, Mr. Gorbachev reinforced his earlier appeals for global nuclear disarmament by denouncing the "balance of fear" theory.

Like the Soviet decision to drop Mr. Ligachev's name from a question in the official transcript of the conversation, the Soviet translation and condensation of The Washington Post's written questions provided some insight into the turbulent political situation here.

A reference to a telephone call that Mr. Gorbachev made to Andrei D. Sakharov when the Soviet dissident physicist was freed from internal exile was omitted, as was the phrase "internal exile."

A question about military response to attacks during troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was dropped, as was a reference to disturbances in the Baltic republics and Armenia, in a question about ethnic nationalism.

Although Mr. Gorbachev is seeking to display unity in the Soviet leadership on the eve of the conference, differences between him and Mr. Ligachev on re-examining Soviet history, certain aspects of glasnost, or openness, and other policy issues have emerged clearly in public remarks by both men.

Mr. Gorbachev said that reform of the system of setting wholesale and retail prices, considered as crucial to the success of his economic reforms, would not be introduced for another three years. This appeared to signal that the leadership

was still weighing ways to raise prices without sparking unrest.

Mr. Gorbachev also drew a distinction between Western freedom of speech and glasnost.

These are not identical things," Mr. Gorbachev said in answers to written questions. "While freedom of speech is indispensable for glasnost, we see glasnost as a broader phenomenon. For us it is not just the right of every citizen to openly say what he or she thinks about all the social and political questions; but also the duty of the ruling party... to ensure openness in decision making, act on criticism, consider advice and recommendations from the shop floor, public organizations and individuals."

The question of why he could succeed where Mr. Khrushchev failed, Mr. Gorbachev said, is "the principal question whose answer our people want to know, and I think Americans do, too."

"These reforms did not bear fruit," he said, "and I think the main reason for that is that the process of those reforms did not rely on the main, decisive force—and that is the involvement of the people in modernizing and restructuring our country."

"We want to insure ourselves against major mistakes," Mr. Gorbachev said. "Therefore, we want our decisions, at least our principal decisions, to be prepared with the involvement of the whole society."

Referring to reform attempts by both Mr. Khrushchev and the late Leonid I. Brezhnev, Mr. Gorbachev said, "I think we've learned from the past."

"We now have three years of hard work under perestroika under our belts," said the Soviet leader, who introduced his reform program barely a month after taking office in March 1985. "So we can say confidently that perestroika has become a national cause."

Until the ouster of the radical Moscow party boss, Boris N. Yeltsin, last November, Mr. Gorbachev was a fervent proponent of the "acceleration" of his reforms. However, the Soviet leader indi-

ETHNIC: Party Chiefs Removed

(Continued from Page 1)

choice but to dismiss both of the republic leaders simultaneously.

The new Armenian leader, Mr. Arutunian, has a master's degree in philosophy, and spent more than 20 years as an official of the Communist Party and its youth arm, Komsomol, six of them in Moscow.

The new Azerbaijani party chief, Mr. Vezirov, was a senior Komsomol official during the 1950s and early 1960s, when Mr. Gorbachev was a Komsomol official from another district in the same Caucasus mountains region.

For the last 12 years he has worked in the Foreign Service as consul general in Calcutta, ambassador to Nepal and then ambassador to Pakistan, assignments that appear to have left him untaunted by the reportedly pervasive corruption of politics in Azerbaijan.

The disturbances in the two republics began with Armenian demands for the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh, where the Armenian majority had long complained of being slighted by Azerbaijani rulers.

The grievances fed on a long history of hostility between the Christian Armenians and the Muslim Azerbaijanis.

In February, hundreds of thousands of Armenians massed peacefully in the streets of Yerevan and Nagorno-Karabakh, and held

strikes that shut factories and schools.

The tensions turned to violence a week later when Azerbaijanis in Sumgait, roused by rumors of Armenian atrocities, limited down and killed Armenians. More than 30 people, most of them Armenians, were reported killed in the violence before troops were sent to contain the rioting.

In March, the Kremlin refused to redraw the boundaries, instead approving a package of economic and cultural aid for Nagorno-Karabakh. Local officials in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait were replaced. But the measures evidently failed to defuse the anger.

The latest unrest apparently began on May 11 with a violent fight in Ararat, an Armenian town near the Turkish border. According to reports reaching Moscow, homes and cars were burned and an unspecified number of people were hurt in a clash of uncertain origin.

■ Lithuanians Hold Rally

Tass reported that thousands of people gathered in the capital of the Lithuanian republic Saturday for an official rally paying tribute to those who suffered under Stalin. The Associated Press reported from Moscow.

Tass said the meeting in Vilnius honored the "innocent victims of the violation of laws during the years of Stalin's personality cult."

REFORMS: New Impetus Is Sought for Perestroika

(Continued from Page 1)

"deepen" these programs and give a "second wind" to his reforms.

The first of its kind since 1941, the conference will bring together 5,000 Communist Party delegates from throughout the Soviet Union.

Mr. Gorbachev appeared anxious to steer a careful course between the more radical reformers and party conservatives and to create a positive atmosphere for the discussion of his program at the conference, regarded as the last major hurdle before it has the unqualified approval of party leaders.

"This is a turbulent time," he said, "a turbulent sea in which it is not easy to sail the ship. But we have a compass and we have a crew to guide that ship. And the ship itself is strong."

Soviet officials have estimated that at least a third of the Soviet population and bureaucracy opposes or fears reform and many others are uncertain about them.

Mr. Gorbachev dismissed reports about rifts between him and Yegor K. Ligachev, a conservative member of the ruling Politburo and the party's chief ideologist, saying that the leadership fully supported his program of perestroika and that debate was "natural."

In the past, he added, "our problem has been that for many years there has not been such debate in society, in the party, not in the Central Committee, not in the government itself or in the Politburo. The absence of debate led to many losses, mistakes and omissions."

Although Mr. Gorbachev is seeking to display unity in the Soviet leadership on the eve of the conference, differences between him and Mr. Ligachev on re-examining Soviet history, certain aspects of glasnost, or openness, and other policy issues have emerged clearly in public remarks by both men.

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referred to the "innocent victims of the violation of laws during the years of Stalin's personality cult."

He speculated that reports about rifts within ruling Soviet bodies were either "a wish to understand what is going on in the country, or a wish to toss up speculation which could influence discussion... or perhaps to encourage mistrust and perhaps a split in the leadership."

In his written answers, Mr. Gorbachev accused the West of showing a "morbid" interest in Soviet nationalities problems, which have flared up in the last two years in the Baltic region, Central Asia, and the republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia.

Asked about disputes over reform in the leadership, Mr. Gorbachev said that if he did not have the support of the Soviet leadership there would be no perestroika. He added that the reform campaign was "born here in our society, in our party, in the Central Committee, with the participation of the current leadership of the country."

Perestroika, he said, was pushing a new leadership group to the foreground. "Fresh faces... among our people are coming forward," he said. "They are beginning, they are becoming involved in the process of renewing our society at all levels of social life, government and management."

He added, "Our society won't be as it was. It will change."

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U.S. Wary on a Mission

Don Oberdorfer of The Washington Post reported from Washington: The United States has informed the Soviet Union that it is prepared to assist a 1994 Soviet unmanned probe of the planet Mars, but the Reagan administration considers a high profile leadership commitment to a joint Mars mission to be premature, officials said Sunday.

Samuel W. Keller, deputy associate administrator for space sciences of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, said he informed Soviet scientists 10 days ago in Moscow of a U.S. decision in principle to take Soviet equipment into space on a planned U.S. probe.

For months Soviet scientists were speaking of U.S.-Soviet cooperation toward a manned flight to Mars to take place about two decades from now, Mr. Keller said. But recently, he added, they have scaled back to concentrate on unmanned missions, which are more acceptable to the United States as a topic of discussion.

Grosz Gained Power in 11 Months, Transforming Politics in Hungary

By Reuters

BUDAPEST — Karoly Grosz transformed the political scene in Hungary after becoming prime minister in June 1987.

The prime minister's post had carried little weight under his predecessor Gyorgy Lazar, but Mr. Grosz gathered power into his hands to challenge the party leader, János Kadar, as the strongest voice in the country.

At a special party conference, Mr. Grosz was named Sunday as general secretary of the party, replacing Mr. Kadar, who was named party president. Hungarian sources said that the conference, the first such full party meeting since 1957, had been called at Mr. Grosz's initiative to unsettle Mr. Kadar.

"He is his own man," one senior Hungarian official said earlier, noting that Mr. Grosz's forthright and precise manner of speaking set him apart from older members of the country's Communist leadership.

Although he had not been regarded as a reformer, Mr. Grosz rapidly became more radical as prime minister. In September 1987, he introduced a package of harsh economic measures that were designed to rescue Hungary's stagnating economy. They included an income tax of 20 to 60 percent and the East bloc's first value-added tax.

Mr. Grosz has appointed Reszoo Nyers, who was removed from the ruling Politburo in 1972 for his radical economic views, as a special economic adviser. He also has ex-

pressed admiration for the economic policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain.

Within Hungary, he developed a special political relationship with the party reformer Imre Pozsgay, the head of the People's Patriotic Front, which embraces nonparty organizations.

Like Mr. Kadar, Mr. Grosz is a man of impeccable working-class credentials and a pragmatic nonideologist.

He was born in the northeastern city of Miskolc on August 1, 1930. He first worked as a printer, joined the party in 1945, worked briefly as a journalist and studied at Budapest University and the party college.

Beginning in 1950, he worked in the central party apparatus, serving for a while as a commissioned officer in the Hungarian Army.

He was one of the only party officials visible during the anti-Communist uprising of 1956 and was under a cloud for several months after the uprising was put down by Soviet troops and tanks.

In radio interviews in 1986 in connection with the 30th anniversary of the uprising, Mr. Grosz admitted that he had gone through a period of disillusionment with the party and that he had thought of quitting. He said his father persuaded him not to.

In 1961, he was elected secretary of the party committee at Hungarian radio and television. He headed the Central Committee's department of agitation and propaganda from 1974-79 before his election to the Central Committee in 1983.

In 1984, he became party chief in Budapest, and in 1985 he was elected to the Politburo.

Hungarian officials and Western observers say that his appointment as prime minister in 1987 was part of a ploy by Mr. Kadar to damage Mr. Grosz's chances as a successor by giving him an impossible job with little prestige.

INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS
You will find below a listing of job positions published last Thursday under the rubric International Positions.

TITLE	SALARY	EMPLOYER
LAWYER		The World Health Organization.
CAREER OPPORTUNITIES	Excellent	Business Group in Lebanon.
TECHNICAL SALES MANAGER	\$25,000	Manufacture of printing.
PLANT BAKER		Cold Storage (Malaysia) Berhad.
SUPERMARKET OPERATIONS MANAGER	Attractive	Cold Storage (Malaysia) Berhad.
HEAD OF EUROPEAN FRANCHISE DEVELOP.	\$30,000	Mervyn Hughes International Ltd.
CAREER OPPORTUNITY	Interesting	Pharmaceutical Company.

If you haven't seen last week's INTERNATIONAL POSITIONS rubric, please ask for a free copy: Max Ferrero, INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France. Tel: (1) 46.37.93.81. Telex: 613595

مكتبة الأصيل

Clint Eastwood's Latest Soars Just Like a 'Bird'

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss
International Herald Tribune

CANNES — Clint Eastwood's press conference in the tower of the Cannes Cinema Palace Saturday morning rivaled in attendance Robert Redford's session earlier in the week. It was, however, less of a circus.

Mr. Eastwood was at the festival for the world premiere of his "Bird," an interpretive screen biography of Charlie Parker, the legendary jazz saxophonist. Mr. Eastwood does not appear in the picture, but his directorial signature is firmly on it. Based on Joel Oliansky's scenario — itself inspired by the book written by Mr. Parker's widow, Chan, "Life in a Flat" — it is free of the studio system's clichés and papier-mâché uplift.

"Scott Fitzgerald once wrote that there are no second acts in American lives," Mr. Eastwood said after the showing of the movie — the 12th he has directed. "That comment states Charlie Parker's case. His talents lifted him from oblivion to fame, but the pressures upon him were crushing. His struggle against the odds may have driven him to create, as it has with other artists. He has left us magic music."

"It's always been a great ambition of mine to make a film about him," Mr. Eastwood added.

"Americans don't have any original art except Western movies and jazz and it's easy to overlook what's in your front yard." He defended the length of "Bird" — two hours and 43 minutes. "The studio executives were concerned but I just forged ahead at this length. If you really wanted to play it safe, you'd never release a movie."

Charlie Parker, as the film shows, was troubled by drug and alcohol problems and by the ambiguities of his interracial marriage. The sequences showing him touring the U.S. South depict the racial hostility he encountered. When he died at 34, a physical wreck, the coroner thought his body was that of a 65-year-old man.

Mr. Eastwood has not white-washed the ugly facts but his is not a mere chronicle of misery and woe. He gives us the artist as well as the man, with scenes of the saxophonist's enthralling audiences.

Forest Whitaker as the saxophonist and Diane Venora as the wife who loves him but sharply reproves him for his dissipation enact their roles in harmony with the strong direction. As a film, "Bird" soars high.



As Sondra Locke smiles, Clint Eastwood acknowledges an ovation Saturday from a crowd in Cannes.

2 West Bank Palestinians Are Killed In Apparent Firebombing of a Car

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
JERUSALEM — A car apparently hit by a firebomb burst into flames in the occupied West Bank on Sunday, killing a Palestinian woman and her son. Hospital officials said another Arab died of a gunshot wound after a confrontation with Israeli soldiers in the West Bank.

Elsewhere, three Arab teenagers were wounded in two separate clashes, and an Israeli man was burned seriously in a firebomb attack, officials and Israeli radio said.

The army confirmed the deaths and said it was investigating the causes.

The violence occurred as about 12,000 Palestinian children returned to schools in East Jerusalem for the first time in more than three months. Israel closed the schools during the height of the Arab uprising, which began Dec. 8.

The deaths Sunday brought to 194 the number of Palestinians who have died in the anti-occupation unrest, according to the United Nations. Two Israelis also have been killed.

Shamsh Al Kadah, 65, and her son, Mohammed Salah Ghanem, 36, died when their car caught fire in the West Bank town of Tulkeram as they drove from the hospital

where Mr. Ghanem's wife had given birth, hospital officials said.

Abu Kabir, an official at Israel's Pathological Institute, said the two died in an apparent firebombing attack. Arab witnesses said the fire occurred after soldiers fired warning shots toward the car, which was traveling through a closed military zone.

Kawther Miri, 23, of a refugee camp near Tulkeram, died Sunday of a bullet wound to the chest suffered during clashes Saturday with soldiers, said an official at Rafediyeh Hospital in Nablus.

Also Sunday, hundreds of protesters in Nablus hurled rocks at soldiers on an avenue named for Khalil Wazir, the slain Palestine

TEHRAN: Lebanese Shiites Wary

(Continued from page 1)

originate in Moslem West Beirut, with the announcer always making it a point to say: "This is what Moslems have done to Moslems."

In the interview with Al Shiraa, Sheikh Qabalan said all his time was devoted to helping thousands of Shiite families who fled their homes since the clashes broke out in the slum areas on May 16.

"No misery in the world equals ours," a middle-aged woman screamed during an interview shown on the state-run television station. "Is this the fate Iran wants for the Shiites?"

Shiite Moslems have traditionally looked to Iran, where politics is dominated by the Shiite clergy of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, for guidance on religious matters.

Since Ayatollah Khomeini came to power in Tehran nine years ago, the government he leads has tried to transform his popularity into political and military influence in Lebanon. It sent 2,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards to indoctrinate young Lebanese Shiites and recruit them into Hezbollah.

But now, portraits of Ayatollah Khomeini in West Beirut have been defaced, and signs saying "Only Berri is Our Leader" have been put up.

The reference is to Nabih Berri, the Shiite Moslem who heads Amal.

One point of vulnerability for the Iranians in Lebanon is that they speak Persian, not Arabic. When Iran's acting foreign minister, Ali Mohammed Besharati, met with local Lebanese leaders last week, he had to use an interpreter.

"The Iranian republic demands unquestioned loyalty from us," Sheikh Qabalan complained in the interview. He said he told the Iranians: "I reject you because I have experienced you. Leave us alone before it is too late."

Danger Is Seen For Hostages if Syrians Deploy

The Associated Press

DAMASCUS — Vernon A. Walters, the chief U.S. representative to the United Nations, says the Syrian government is aware that deploying troops in Beirut's southern slums could endanger foreign hostages reportedly held there by pro-Iranian fundamentalists.

Mr. Walters met in Damascus on Saturday with President Hafez al-Assad and Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara.

Mr. Walters said that during the talks there was recognition that the deployment "could work two ways."

"In one way it could work to endanger the hostages, and in another way it could work such that it would not endanger them and would make the hostages safe," he said.

CHET: Last Days Mark the End of a Jazz Era

(Continued from page 1)

summer time place where the living isn't easy. People who had never met him cried when he died.

Bebop's creators had to live with critics who said the jazz they played wasn't really "music." But they all heard the sounds they'd discovered in the compositions of acclaimed "serious" compositions and on the soundtracks of popular television series. They worked in Mafia-controlled saloons and collected no royalties. They fought alienation by constructing a secret culture — "bad" meaning "good" is vintage bebop argot. Heroin was part of the huddle. It seemed to cure alienation for a minute.

All of this is now a big budget subject. Dexter Gordon, Dizzy Gillespie, Miles Davis and Sonny Rollins make gold records and play the White House. Today's young "post-bop" jazzmen wear three-piece suits, arrive on time, drink mineral water and negotiate six-figure contracts. It is no coincidence that heroin disappeared as respect arrived. The death of Chet Baker dots the last "I" of that sad story.

The creases on his face multiplied and deepened and his lips turned in over the dentures he had worn since his teeth were knocked

out by angry dealers in San Francisco. He began to resemble an old Indian, the last of a tribe that had seen a heap of suffering. He looked like he needed taking care of and he did and there were always people around to do it. His persistence and ingenuity in pursuit of heroin and his muse and the ability to survive such a relentless onslaught earned him (sometimes reluctant) respect from people of all ages, races, nationalities and stylistic preferences who agreed on little else. Chet was the real thing.

A few years ago, he recalled how embarrassed he had been in the 1950s when he placed higher than Clifford Brown and Dizzy Gillespie, both of whom he adored, in the polls because he was a "great white hope" with a pretty face that reminded people of James Dean. He knew he wasn't in their league yet. In the 1980s, when on a good night he was capable of playing as well as jazz can be played, he was dismissed as a has-been. Great white hopes had gone out of style, along with pianissimos. But it was to a large degree his own fault; falling off a chair on stage is not a good career move.

Chet once told a reporter: "I have a medical problem and in Europe they treat it as a medical prob-

lem." So he came to Europe for love and medicine, moving around three weeks here, two days there, in hotels or wearing out welcomes with hosts. The French adored him. He had a methadone prescription from a doctor in Amsterdam. Methadone cures the craving for heroin. On methadone, the grace would be healthy. But he always returned to Zeedijk in Amsterdam for the hot flash he needed.

The Belgian guitarist Philip Catherine describes touring with Chet:

"He would drive from Paris to Brussels by way of Amsterdam; sometimes he'd fly up there between two nights in Paris. He'd be late a lot and there would be some very heavy pants. The pay wasn't always what it was supposed to be, or when, but there were so many magic moments in the music, they made everything else worthwhile."

The Dutch impresario Wim Wigt handled Chet in Europe and Japan in the 1980s. It was not an exclusive contract but Wigt estimates that Chet earned over \$200,000 after taxes last year. The two albums he made for Wigt's Timeless Records have sold over 25,000 units each and are still selling. It is not difficult to guess where the money went.

One friend recalls Chet arriving

at his house with 30,000 guildens in a shopping bag. He had recently bought a cream-colored Alfa Romeo Giulia with Italian plates. According to Peter Huyts, who drove with him often, Chet was an expert driver who would miraculously sober up behind the wheel no matter how stoned he might have been.

The lanky, bespectacled Huyts looks too young to be a grandfather of two and too straight to be a road manager for jazz bands. He had been running a part-time jazz club when he lost his job as an electronics engineer five years ago. Knowing and loving the music, he began to travel with Wigt's clients like Gillespie, Art Blakey and John Scofield. He figures he's heard more than 150 Chet Baker concerts and he probably knew him as well as anyone.

Last Thursday, Huyts was in Schiphol, Amsterdam's airport, waiting to accompany the coffin on a flight to Los Angeles, where Chet's mother owns a plot.

"I wanted to be with him until the very end," he said. "I'm surprised how much I miss him."

Traveling with Baker was no piece of cake. But despite the fact that Chet had spent 16 months in an Italian jail and had at one time, or another been deported from Switzerland, West Germany and Britain, there was never any trouble crossing borders.

"He moved me so much I immediately wanted to be a trumpet

player," he said, "only nobody gave me a trumpet. It would have been so nice to have my old hero living in my village."

Chet was surprised and delighted when the Dutch trumpet player Evert Heekema told him that he and his teen-age friends had combed their hair and dressed like him. He had the key to Heekema's apartment for more than two years. He paid no rent but was always arriving with gifts and never forgot to take care of his long-distance calls.

A rehabilitated addict who asked not to be identified remembers seeing Chet strip naked in search of an uncollapsed vein. He found one in his groin but missed it several times until he needs finally entered. Then his knees buckled and he held on to the sink, moaning "saline solution." The former addict recognized an overdose and prepared the solution quickly. He gave Chet the syringe and this time he hit a vein in his neck on the first try.

Several hours later, when Chet had recovered and was dressing to go to work, the former addict asked him: "Hey, man, don't you ever get tired of this number?"

"It's a drag," he replied. "Hotel rooms and airports and getting guys for gigs. I hate the road."

"I don't mean that," he said. "I mean using dope."

"Oh that," Chet shrugged. "I never think about that."

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most of them Armen-

reported killed in the

troops were sent to

the rioting.

ch, the Kremlin refused to

boundaries, instead ap-

package of economic aid

aid for Nagorno-Kaba-

and Sumgait in Nagorno-

cal officials in Nagorno-

but the measures evidently

defuse the anger.

rest unrest apparently be-

lay 11 with a violent flare-

up, an Armenian town

Turkish border. Accord-

ing to a report from Mos-

cow, human rights

were burned and an

number of people were

clash of uncertain origin.

manians Hold Rally

reported that thousands

gathered in the capital of

human republic Saturday

official rally paying tribute

who suffered under Stalin,

associated Press reported

Moscow.

said the meeting in Ylma-

of the "innocent victims of

of laws during the

of Stalin's personality cult."

Perestroika

that he now discouraged

s at quickening the pace

of reforms. "There are many

who are pushing us toward

kind of leap forward, toward

kind of very rapid move-

," he said.

at we are going to move in a

lated, measured way," he said.

omnibus consultation with

people through the democra-

tic process."

Gorbachev used his meeting

American editors to stress

Western media of focusing

naïst tensions inside the Soviet

and exaggerating conflict

ing Soviet leaders.

his whole theme of deep divi-

in the Soviet leadership as

is streaks," he said. "It is being

not by Soviet editors but by

Western media."

e speculated that reports about

within ruling Soviet leader

either "a wish to understand

its going on in the country, or

to toss up speculation which

id influence discussion ... or

haps to encourage mistrust and

happ a split in the leadership,"

in his written answers. Mr. Gor-

bahev accused the West of show-

a "method" interest in Soviet

nationalities questions, which

had led up in the last two years in

the region. Central Asia, and the

subtleties of Azerbaijan and Ar-

menia.

Asked about disputes over

in the leadership, Mr. Gorba-

chev said that if he did not have

support of the Soviet leadership

are would be no perestroika. He

ded that the reform campaign

is "born here in our society,"

it party, in the Central Commis-

sion with the participation of

current leadership of the country.

Perestroika, he said, was pushing

new leadership group to the fore

round. "Fresh faces," said

at people are coming forward,"

aid. "They are beginning, they're

becoming involved in the process

renewing our society at all levels

social life, government and man-

agement."

He added, "Our society would

it was. It will change."

pressed admiration for the

economic policies of Prime Minister

Margaret Thatcher of Britain.

Whether Hungary, he did deny

special political relationship with

the party reformer Imre Pozsgar

the head of the People's Party.

From which embraces major

organizations.

Like Mr. Kadar, Mr. Gorbachev

is a man of appreciable working

experience and a pragmatic ac-

ted leader.

He is born in the northeast

city of Moscow on August 1. He

Mr. Gorbachev as a prime minister

the party in 1985, worked brief-

a journalist and studied at the

West University and the party

school.

Beginning in 1980, he worked

for the party apparatus, serving

in a number of commissions of

the party in the Hungarian Army.

He was one of the top party

officials who were during the 1980

Communist uprising for sea-

war after the uprising was

crushed. Soviet troops and tanks

rolled into Budapest.

He was interviewed in 1980

with the 30th anniversary of the

party's founding. Mr. Gorbachev

stated that he had gone through

the party's development and

struggle and that he had thought

of the party's future. He said his father

was a party member.

Mr. Gorbachev was elected some-

times to the committee at Hun-

garian and television. He has

been a member of the committee of

the party's constitution and program

committee since his election to the

Central Committee in 1980.

Mr. Gorbachev became party leader

in 1985, the year he was elected

to the Politburo.

Mr. Gorbachev's reforms and West-

erners say that his approach

is a new step in 1987 were

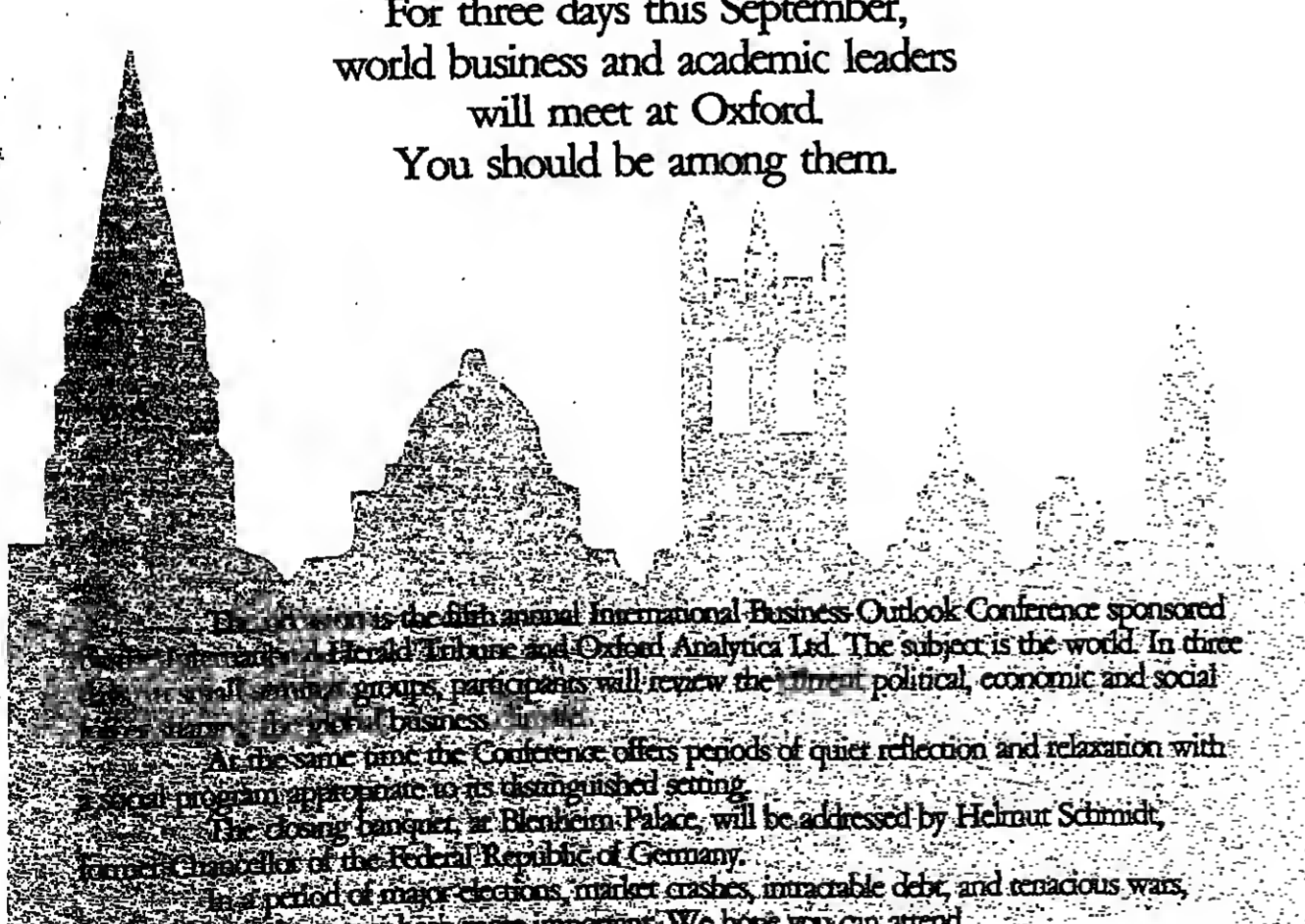
to give Mr. Kadar a chance as a suc-

cessor. Mr. Gorbachev has been

described as an impossible

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Herald Tribune

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Herald Tribune

Frankly Unproductive

To the extent that governments influence the world economy, the meeting last week in Paris was not entirely reassuring. It was a classic example of the tendency of Americans and Europeans to talk past each other...

The Military, Carefully

The politics of drugs suddenly alters the mood of Congress. Alarmed by rising public concern over drug-related crime and corruption, members are rushing to enlist the Defense Department in a literal war on drugs...

Other Comment

America, Russia and Europe

If the Soviet Union seems to be abandoning many features of its foreign policy which are objectionable to American public opinion, may there not be one of those swings of opinion in the United States which lead to a curbing approach to foreign policy?

Wronged in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been the scene of some of the most serious human rights violations on record. About half of the country's pre-war population of 15,000,000 is either in emigration or internally displaced or dead.

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A Centrist Trying to Lead a 'Revolution'

By Jim Hoagland

MOSCOW -- As he greets you with firm handshake and friendly smile, his warm brown eyes locking on yours he is for a few moments the same Mikhail Gorbachev who overwhelmed Washington last December. He speaks about that summit congenially as he concludes his welcome and takes his seat across the table.

He holds the banner of reform high, but he slows down the parade when it gets disorderly.

But he holds back the displays of displeasure that have surfaced in his press conferences in the West. If he was all show business when he met the press in Washington, he is all business in Moscow. Long pauses float between sentences, even when he is repeating well-established positions. He is in charge; he also is on guard.

Pacific Basin: Everybody Isn't Going to Be Japan

By William Pfaff

SEATTLE -- It is fashionable now to talk of the United States as a Pacific power -- the Atlantic left behind. U.S. trade across the Pacific has for some time been greater than across the Atlantic, and if trade has gone West, Americans ask, can political and strategic power be long following?

Singapore: More Than the Press Is Under Attack

By Anthony Lewis

OTTAWA -- When American reporters and editors talk about freedom of the press, some people react skeptically. The press is self-interest, they say. It exalts its own freedom above others. At the slightest incoherence it cries out that the First Amendment is falling.

The Palestinian Uprising Has Failed

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

WASHINGTON -- The dawdling truth of the Palestinian uprising is that for all its success as a consciousness-raising exercise, politically it is a dud. The uprising is burning down (though not out), without having produced either a Palestinian authority or an Israeli government ready for a serious negotiation.

Food Trade Doesn't Make Sense

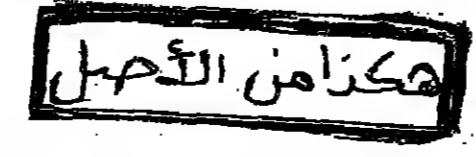
By Flora Lewis

PARIS -- Obviously, food is the most basic human need. There is an underlying shame that in a world in which 10 or more million face starvation and hundreds of millions suffer malnutrition, the most abrasive trade protection is agricultural subsidies.

100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

- 1888: Empire Expands LONDON -- When Henry M. Stanley was sent to relieve Emin Pasha there were a good many people who doubted whether there was not something else at the bottom of the expedition. The relief expedition was undertaken for it by the "British East Africa Association." By Royal letters patent that Association, henceforth to be known as the "British East Africa Company," has been granted full powers not only to levy customs and taxes, but to maintain an armed force and assert authority throughout a vast area in East Africa. The "British East Africa Company" now stands today much in the same relation to England as did the East India Company. The March of Stanley must serve to open up the country from the lakes to the coast, and, at any rate, will clearly show the State the problems it has to grapple with and the work it has to perform in helping to civilize Africa.

Vertical text on the right edge of the page, including "FROM FREE", "MONDAY, MAY", "Inflation Despite U", "P", "M", "See ER", "Curre", "Last Wee".



EUROBONDS Inflation Upsets Market Despite U.S. Assurances

By CARL GEWIRTZ International Herald Tribune PARIS — "I see no evidence of a resurgence of inflation." The words were spoken by U.S. Treasury Secretary James A. Baker Jr. last week...

Clearly, with stock prices falling and bond yields rising, financial markets have concluded that all this signals a surge in inflation. U.S. officials said this is a misreading. They say that the U.S. economy is in transition from consumer-driven to export-led growth...

The Fed should act sooner, rather than later, to raise interest rates, some economists say. Further reducing the danger of inflation-feeding bottlenecks, they added, is the big increase in business spending on plants and equipment...

More worrisome, Mr. Segal said, is the 2 percent rise in apparel costs in the April consumer price index, matching the March rise as the largest monthly advance on record. Women's clothing, up 3.5 percent in April, was largely responsible.

On the other hand, if the Fed is concerned about inflation, analysts said the sooner it acts, the better. What can be accomplished with a half-point increase in the discount rate before the November presidential election will require a much sharper rise afterward, they warn.

Jonathan Wilmut, economist at Credit Suisse First Boston, agreed. "What the U.S. trade figures have helped to clarify is that the current world situation looks to be one where there is a risk of slightly too much rather than too little demand," he said.

Table with columns for Country, Currency, and various market indicators. Includes sections for Cross Rates, Other Dollar Values, and Forward Rates.

Table titled 'Last Week's Markets' showing Stock Indices (Dow Jones, S&P 500, etc.) and Money Rates (Treasury bills, etc.) with columns for dates and values.

Privatization Plan Jolts Dutch TV Democracy

By Ronald van de Krol Special to the Herald Tribune HILVERSUM, Netherlands — The Dutch system of public television, unparalleled for its eccentric setup, lofty ideals and sheer complexity, may soon be turned upside down by a new element: the profit motive.



Logos of the Dutch broadcast clubs seeking to create a commercial network. Foes fear a shift to puff programming.

Like most Europeans, however, the Dutch are no strangers to TV commercials or to foreign commercial television. Most of the Dutch who own television sets also are connected to cable TV.

The debate over a commercial channel is likely to be fierce in the Netherlands, which boasts 7.5 million television sets, or one for every two inhabitants. Many people fear that the plan would kill off a unique public broadcasting system that aims to give everyone access to the airwaves, regardless of their financial clout.

Instead, the TV and radio system is organized so that nonprofit broadcasting "clubs" can take turns using the three national outlets to broadcast either their own programs or programming purchased from abroad.

The goal has always been to create a radio and television democracy that accurately reflects the diversity of Dutch life. In a country of coalition governments and splinter parties, the broadcasting system has spawned a patchwork quilt of nearly 30 broadcasting clubs.

The airwaves are dominated by eight large organizations, however. Four of the eight are clearly "denominational," representing such groups as socialists, Catholics, Protestants and evangelists. The fifth, the VPRO, is an avant-garde intellectual organization.

Together with some of the nation's three publishers — VNU, Elsevier, De Telegraaf and Persgroep — they aim to finance the channel entirely through traditional commercials, corporate sponsorship and "product placement" or charging companies fees for using their products visibly on the air.

Korea Shipbuilders Pull Closer to Leader Japan

SEOUL — South Korea, which built no boats bigger than fishing crawlers a little more than a decade ago, is forging ahead with its goal of replacing Japan as the world's biggest shipbuilder in the next few years.

Kim Jin-uk of the Trade Ministry's shipbuilding unit said that with the global industry showing signs of recovery from a long slump, it was only "a matter of time" before South Korea surpassed Japan.

Earnings amounted to only 30 million won (\$41,000). The Japanese plan to cut their shipbuilding capacity by 20 percent, and the Europeans by 27 percent, by the early 1990s.

South Korea's 4.2 million. "We can probably beat Japan even with this score by the end of 1989," Mr. Choi said.

South Korea's share of the world market rose to 30.2 percent in 1987, trailing Japan's 34.7 percent. Industry groups under the Association of West European Shipbuilders held a combined 18.7 percent.

South Korea's share of the world market rose to 30.2 percent in 1987, trailing Japan's 34.7 percent. Industry groups under the Association of West European Shipbuilders held a combined 18.7 percent.

South Korea surpassed Japan for the first time last year in outstanding orders. By the end of 1987, it had more than 6 million gross tons on the books — a hefty 40 percent gain from the 1986 level — against 5 million for Japan, according to Lloyd's Register.

But Japan led in new orders, racking up 4.8 million tons to

Lucky Stores Of U.S. Accepts \$2.5 Billion Bid

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches SAN FRANCISCO — In a sale expected to create the largest grocery store chain in the United States, Lucky Stores Inc. has accepted a sweetened takeover bid from American Stores Co. for \$2.5 billion.

workers in California, Arizona, Nevada and Florida, would create a retailer with more than \$21 billion in annual sales. Lucky, the largest food company in California, operates 340 stores in that state.

The offer, which must be approved by Lucky shareholders and federal regulators, ends more than a year of takeover pressure on Lucky, which is based in Dublin, California.

American Stores, which also operates in the western United States, had increased its bid to \$65 a share from \$45 a share, or \$1.72 billion. Lucky approved the offer late Friday, and its shares closed the day at \$64.375 on the New York Stock Exchange.

The merged company would likely exceed the sales of either Kroger Co., based in Cincinnati, or Safeway Stores Inc., in Oakland, California.

American May Order \$4 Billion in Boeings

By Agis Salpukas New York Times Service NEW YORK — American Airlines is considering buying about 100 Boeing 757 airplanes, an order that could be valued at more than \$4 billion.

News of the latest possible order buoyed Boeing's stock by \$1.50 on Friday, to \$50.50, in active trading on the New York Stock Exchange.

A spokesman for the airline, Al Becker, said that the carrier could make up its mind to the next few weeks about whether to order the planes.

He said that if American decided to go ahead with the purchase, the 757s would be used to replace 737s and older 727s rather than for expansion. He said that the 757s could be used, for example, to replace the 33 Boeing 737s that American acquired when it bought AirCal, a West Coast-based carrier, in 1986.

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New International Bond Issues

Table with columns: Issuer, Amount (millions), Mat., Coup. %, Price, and Terms. Lists various international bond issues like Floating Rate Notes, Fixed-Coupon, and Security-Linked.

Africa Bank To Support Fresh Loans

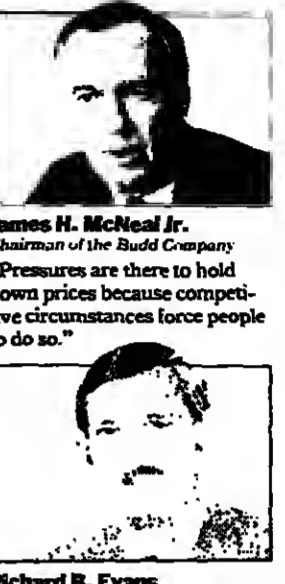
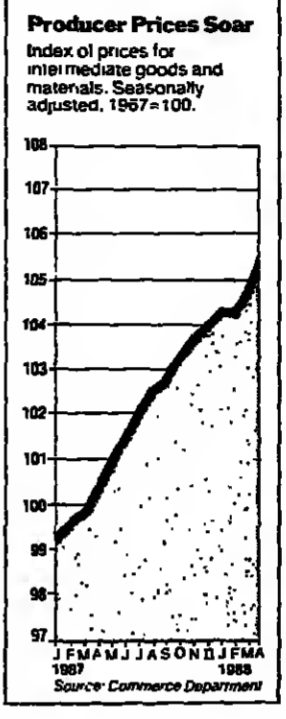
By Louis Uchitelle. ABIDJAN, Ivory Coast — Finding sources of fresh loans for African nations is emerging as a key method that the African Development Bank will support to implement economic recovery on the continent, officials say.

U.S. Wholesalers Delay Passing On Higher Costs

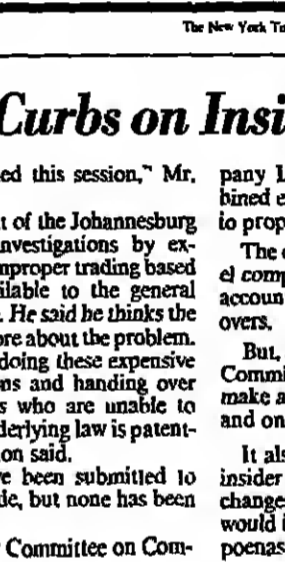
By Louis Uchitelle. NEW YORK — Despite inflationary pressures in the U.S. economy, many companies are holding back on price increases for finished goods, a spot survey shows.

Materials Costs Are Rising, Faster Than Prices

So far this year, producer prices have risen at a modest annualized rate of 2.9 percent. They rose 0.4 percent in April, but just 0.1 percent in March.



James H. McNeal Jr., Chairman of the Budd Company. "Pressures are there to hold down prices because competitive circumstances force people to do so."



Richard B. Evans, Vice President, Kaiser Aluminum. "Although raw material costs have risen, aluminum sheet prices have 'shown relatively small elasticity.'"

EUROBONDS: The Market Fears Inflation Despite Assurances by U.S.

(Continued from first finance page) which to intervene if the dollar subsequently falls. Meanwhile, the waiting — either for the central banks to act or for the proof justifying the status quo — has virtually immobilized the Eurobond market.

South Africa Is Said to Delay Curbs on Insider Trading

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa is delaying plans to crack down on insider stock trading, according to the top legal adviser to the government on the issue.

Falling Bond Prices Fail to Lure Investors

By H.J. Maidenberg. NEW YORK — U.S. securities dealers marked down prices of Treasury bills, notes and bonds at the end of last week in a largely futile effort to attract investors.

Euromarts At a Glance

Table showing Eurobond Yields and Weekly Sales. Columns include instrument type, yield, and sales figures.

Singapore's Foreign Reserves Increased 10% in January

SINGAPORE — The foreign reserves held by Singapore rose to \$15.5 billion in January, up 10 percent from a month earlier, according to figures released by the Monetary Authority of Singapore.

U.S. Consumer Rates

Table showing U.S. Consumer Rates for various categories like Total Expenditures, Durable Goods, and Services.

Treasury Bonds

Table showing Treasury Bonds with columns for Maturity, Bid, Ask, and Yield.

Large advertisement for Dubai featuring a night cityscape and text: 'Dubai will remain a free trading city... YOUR NEW BASE FOR WORLD MARKETS... No personal income taxes... No import duties/export taxes...'

Vertical text on the left margin including 'a Straights', 'review', 'AMEX Soles', 'AMEX Divides', and 'Trading - A'.

U.S. Fuel Giants Find Their Rescuer Downstream

Grade's Decline Boosts Margins At Refineries

By Martha M. Hamilton Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Crude oil prices may be taking a beating, but they wouldn't know it from glancing at the bottom lines of the major U.S. oil companies.

In the first quarter of 1988, while oil prices bobbed between low and lower, many of the nation's largest oil companies were enjoying huge profit gains. Exxon's income climbed 36 percent to \$1.46 billion.

Exxon's earnings of \$469 million were up 80 percent, Chevron's \$475 million up 81 percent to \$653 million, and profit at both Mobil and Texaco more than doubled.

During the same period, the average spot price for West Texas Intermediate, the benchmark U.S. grade oil, dropped to \$16.67 from an average of \$19 in 1987 as prices rose and fell on Gulf hostilities and rumors about output at the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

So how have the oil giants been able to record such gains with the price of their key product dropping?

The answer depends on the degree to which they are integrated. The companies are suffering as producers of crude oil but are doing well in refining and marketing operations, in which low prices have produced bigger profit margins.

When oil prices fall, the price of gasoline and other products eventually falls, too, but not as quickly or sharply. As a result, the oil companies' refining businesses make more money.

The oil companies also are major chemical companies and have benefited from strong earnings in that industry. "Downstream earnings more than doubled and chemical earnings tripled versus the first quarter of 1987," the chairman of Mobil Corp., Allan E. Murray, noted this month of the company's annual meeting. The combination of those earnings and cost savings and restructuring in other areas resulted in "the best first quarter Mobil has had since 1981," he said.

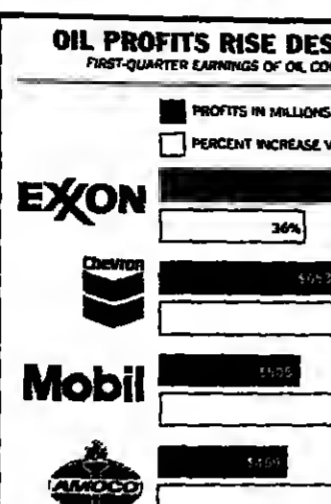
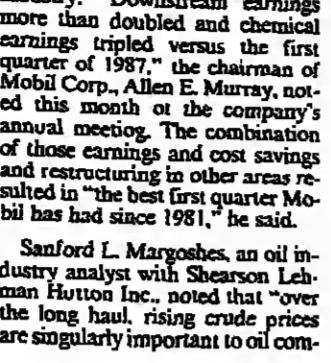
Sanford L. Margoshes, an oil industry analyst with Shearson Lehman Hutton Inc., noted that "over the long haul, rising crude prices are singularly important to oil companies because their major asset is the barrel of oil in the ground to politically secure areas." In the short run, however, their other operations are easing the pain.

"In 1986, when there was a collapse in crude prices, refining and marketing came to the rescue," Mr. Margoshes said. "And in 1988 downstream operations — refining and marketing, coupled with chemicals — once again save the day for the integrated oil companies."

The tremendous profit increases to the companies' refining operations partly reflect poor earnings in that sector a year ago. In the case of Texaco, which was in bankruptcy proceedings and also under pressure from its largest shareholder, Carl C. Icahn, most of the increase came from the sale of 20 percent of its Angola production and from

Oil Profits Rise Despite Falling Prices

First-quarter earnings of oil companies posting largest profits



Refineries producing more helped oil companies' bottom lines.

Metromedia Gains Control of Orion in \$78 Million Deal

By Geraldine Fabrikant New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Ending months of speculation about a possible takeover fight for Orion Pictures Corp., John W. Kluge, chairman of Metromedia Co., has reached an agreement to take control of the movie and television production company for an estimated \$78 million.

Orion Pictures said Friday that Metromedia had agreed in principle to buy the 2.5 million Orion shares and 2.7 million warrants of Orion Pictures held by the investor Samner M. Redstone; his two companies, National Amusements Inc. and Viacom International Inc., and the estate of Michael Redstone.

The accord would eliminate the possibility of a takeover fight between Mr. Kluge and Samner Redstone, who are Orion's biggest shareholders. It also would protect the company from any unfriendly bidder.

Metromedia's purchase of the Redstone stake would give it control of more than 66 percent of the company's stock. Orion said Metromedia, a telecommunications company, had agreed to pay \$17 a share, or about \$47.6 million.

In addition, it said that Metromedia would pay \$11 a warrant, or about \$30.4 million. The warrants can be exercised to buy Orion stock at \$6 a share.

Mr. Redstone has been taking steps to reduce heavy debt from his \$3.4 billion acquisition last year of Viacom, a diversified media conglomerate. The investor and his companies are expected to make a substantial profit on the Orion deal.

A spokesman for Viacom said that company alone would make \$18 million. The amount of other profits from the Redstone sale could not be determined.

Mr. Kluge, "who already" controlled more than 39 percent of Orion's stock, is known to be a close friend of Orion's chairman, Arthur Krim. With the purchase of the 26.8 percent Redstone stake, Mr. Kluge and Stuart Seidman, the co-owner of Metromedia, will own 10.1 million shares and 4.1 million warrants, or 66.6 percent of Orion's common stock.

Analysts said that owning Orion would have given Mr. Redstone a supply of films for Viacom's various distribution outlets on cable.

"I would have believed he considered Orion to be a strategic asset," one analyst said.

Despite Mr. Kluge's wealth, which is estimated at far more than \$1 billion, analysts said his decision to buy additional shares in Orion had been a surprise. Before acquiring the Redstone stake, Metromedia already had a large enough stake to control Orion, the analysts said.

Cablevision Seen Set on Bass Unit

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Cablevision Industries, a cable television operator in Liberty, N.Y., is close to acquiring some of the assets of Wometco Cable Co. from the Robert M. Bass Group of Texas, according to industry executives. Sources valued the stock deal at about \$750 million.

Wometco, which operates cable systems in the Southeast, has about 440,000 subscribers. The Bass group is said to have put up the assets for sale last month. Cablevision is believed to be close to acquiring about 300,000 subscribers for stock and assumption of debt, with Bass retaining control of about 140,000 subscribers.

Bass bought into Wometco in a 50-50 venture with Taft Broadcasting Co. in 1986 for \$620 million. It later acquired Taft's stake.

Chemical operations are enjoying strong profits as a result of a general business expansion.

Chemical operations are enjoying strong profits as a result of a general business expansion. Relatively low costs for chemical feedstocks, principally natural gas, also have boosted earnings.

Oil companies with large natural gas production also have seen improvements because cold weather boosted demand, and kept prices up.

The other factor in the profit gain, the extent to which the companies have restructured, is "hard to quantify," said Frank P. Knuetzel, an analyst with Prudential-Bache Securities.

"When you have 85 percent and 90 percent earning increases, it's very hard to attribute which 5 percent resulted from those changes," he said.

American Exchange Options

Table of American Exchange Options with columns for Option & price, Calls, Puts, and various stock symbols.

Chicago Exchange Options

Table of Chicago Exchange Options with columns for Option & price, Calls, Puts, and various stock symbols.

NASDAQ National Market

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday.

Large table listing NASDAQ National Market data including various stock symbols and prices.

ESORTS & GUIDES

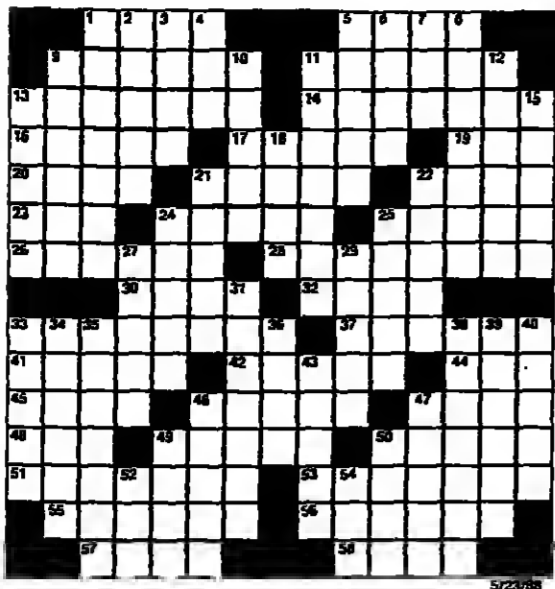
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MONDAY SPORTS



ACROSS
 1 Character in 53
 5 Served well
 8 Purports
 11 Druggies
 13 First name of 21 Across
 14 Happy
 16 "Bolero" composer
 17 At full speed:
 18 Recompense
 20 Ottoman imperial standard
 21 Character in 53 Across
 22 Subst
 23 One of a deadly septet
 24 Jackie of jest
 25 High hat
 26 Fastened, in a way
 28 Malcontents
 30 Primitive plant
 32 Gauguin's God
 33 Speaks hastily, in a way
 37 Safeguard
 41 Fluffs
 42 Tacks, at sea

DOWN
 1 Yeast does this
 2 Type of legal proceeding
 3 Droop
 4 Raul Julia TV role
 5 Beat
 6 Pivados
 7 Actress
 8 Tanguy
 9 Muse of comedy
 10 Brands
 11 Engendered
 12 A Cy Young Award winner: 1975
 13 Black Monday happening
 15 Vatmen
 18 Othello, e.g.
 21 Shield
 22 Character in 53 Across
 24 Emulates
 25 Frosty
 26 Appearances
 27 Character in 53 Across
 28 Devotion
 31 Porticoes
 33 Pivots
 34 Character in 53 Across
 35 Loosens a corset
 36 Garage event
 38 Salto locale
 39 Contradicts
 40 Abates
 43 Swill
 46 Tummy
 47 Tightener
 48 Fright
 49 Aloe
 50 Maori clan
 52 Greek letter
 54 Conger

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DENNIS THE MENACE



"I'M JUST CALLING TO GIVE YOU ONE MORE CHANCE TO APOLOGIZE, MR. WILSON."

JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

PROAV

BLACE

DAHNEB

NUCFED

Answer here: A 4 IN THE

WEATHER

EUROPE	HIGH	LOW	ASIA	HIGH	LOW
Aberdeen	20	14	Suzhou	24	18
Amsterdam	18	12	Taipei	28	22
Berlin	16	10	Hong Kong	30	24
Bombay	32	26	Manila	32	26
Buenos Aires	24	18	Seoul	28	22
Calcutta	34	28	Singapore	30	24
Cardiff	16	10	Tokyo	28	22
Cebu	30	24			
Dublin	16	10			
Edinburgh	16	10			
Helsinki	16	10			
London	16	10			
Madras	32	26			
Moscow	16	10			
Nairobi	28	22			
Paris	16	10			
Perth	20	14			
Rangoon	30	24			
San Francisco	16	10			
Singapore	30	24			
Tokyo	28	22			
Zurich	16	10			

SIDELINES

Timmermann Sets World Shot Put Record

ATHENS (UPI) — East German shotputter Ulf Timmermann broke the world shotput record with an effort of 23.06 meters (75 feet, 8 inches) Sunday at an international meet in Chania, Crete.

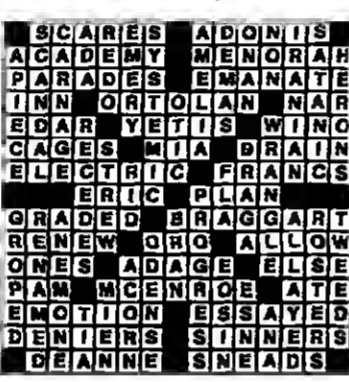
Lottery Gives Clippers Top NBA Draft Pick

NEW YORK (AP) — The Los Angeles Clippers, the only National Basketball Association team that has not made the playoffs in the past 10 years, won Saturday's NBA lottery and the first pick — expected to be Danny Manning — in the June 28 draft.

Rose Breaks 3-Way Tie to Lead in U.S. Golf

FORT WORTH, Texas (AP) — Clarence Rose, with four birdies on the back nine, took a three-stroke lead after Saturday's third round of the Colonial National Invitation golf tournament.

Solution to Friday's Puzzle



Quotable

Hall-of-fame golfer Ben Hogan, 76: "I dreamed one time — and this sounds crazy — that I made 17 holes-in-one, and on the 18th hole I tipped the cup and it was just madder than hell."

Gretzky Excels as Oilers Take a 2-0 Lead

By Robin Finn
New York Times Staff Writer

EDMONTON, Alberta — The Oilers waited just long enough for the Boston Bruins to make Friday night's game dangerous, and then, provoked by a 2-2 tie, Wayne Gretzky slid into the slot and gave Edmonton a 3-2 lead.

STANLEY CUP FINALS

The Bruins had made the only logical change they could by choosing Lemelin to protect their goal, but a cascade of penalties after the midpoint of the first period erased whatever lift his return might have provided.

Stanley Cup Finals

The Oilers took the pressure in the Edmonton end until Ken Linseman managed a second goal at 3:16. Linseman fought off Kevin Lowe at the right circle and then took a shot that Fuhr kicked right back to him; Linseman snapped the rebound just inside the right post.

Stanley Cup Finals

Twice the Oilers were sufficiently manhandled to draw two-man advantages, and they scored goals both times. The tally came on deflections of shots fired by Gretzky, leaving Lemelin no chance for saves.

Stanley Cup Finals

Instead of the equality with which the teams duelled in the first period of Game 1, this time the Oilers power-play units created havoc in the Boston zone.



Wayne Gretzky, beating Rejean Lemelin for the deciding goal at 11:21 of the third period in Game 2.

PEANUTS



WORLD STOCKS IN REVIEW / Via Agence France-Press

Amsterdam

Stock prices rose moderately during the week, as the ANP-CBS general index closed at 240.7, compared with 237.5 the previous Friday.

Paris

French stocks eked out small gains during the week, held back by upward pressure on interest rates, analysts said.

Frankfurt

Stocks gained during the week, with the Commerzbank index rising to 1,327.4 on Friday, up 25.2 points from the previous week.

Hong Kong

Prices on the Hong Kong Stock Exchange retreated in light trading. The Hang Seng index shed 41.39 points to close at 2,491.24.

London

Stocks in London lost ground in nervous trading during the week. The Financial Times 100-share index fell 11.60 points to 1,770.20.

Milan

Stock prices in Milan fell in listless trading. The MILB share index finished at 975, down from 997 the previous Friday.

Tokyo

The Tokyo Stock Exchange had a volatile week as the key Nikkei Stock average closed at a record high Monday but then suffered its largest daily loss of the year on Thursday.

Zurich

Swiss stock prices enjoyed a moderate recovery for the week, with a gain of around 1.5 percent. The Swiss Bank Corp. indicator rose to 482.6 from 475.2.

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July 1988

MONDAY SPORTS

Risen Star Wins Preakness Stakes

By Steven Crist
New York Times Service
BALTIMORE — Risen Star, whose trainer nearly scratched him from the race, benefited from an early duel between Winning Colors and Forty Niner to score a 1 1/4-length victory in Saturday's 113th Preakness Stakes at Pimlico Race Course.



Risen Star, under Eddie Delahoussaye, at the finish line Saturday.

Celtics and Lakers Each Win Showdowns



Kareem Abdul-Jabbar of the Lakers, left, trying to muscle past Utah's Mark Eaton during a first-half confrontation Saturday night.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
BOSTON — Larry Bird scored 20 of his 34 points in the fourth quarter, and the Boston Celtics continued their tradition of seventh-game NBA playoff success Sunday afternoon with a 118-116 victory over the Atlanta Hawks.

Braves, Racing to Early Lead With 5-Run First, Beat Pirates

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
PITTSBURGH — Bruce Benedict's two-run double completed Atlanta's five-run first inning Sunday and the Braves went on to defeat the Pittsburgh Pirates, 6-4.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
Astros 2, Cardinals 1: In St. Louis, Chuck Jackson doubled home the tie-breaking run in the ninth, giving Houston the victory.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
Astros 2, Cardinals 1: In St. Louis, Chuck Jackson doubled home the tie-breaking run in the ninth, giving Houston the victory.

Kilgus Loses Perfect Game in Eighth, But Blanks Twins, 3-0, on a 1-Hitter

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
ARLINGTON, Texas — Paul Kilgus pitched seven perfect innings before Gary Gaetti led off the eighth with a double for Minnesota's only hit as the Texas Rangers beat the Twins, 3-0, Saturday night.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
Blue Jays 4, Brewers 0: In Milwaukee, Dave Stieb allowed six hits in seven innings for his fifth straight victory.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
Astros 2, Cardinals 1: In St. Louis, Chuck Jackson doubled home the tie-breaking run in the ninth, giving Houston the victory.

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches
Astros 2, Cardinals 1: In St. Louis, Chuck Jackson doubled home the tie-breaking run in the ninth, giving Houston the victory.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

Friday's and Saturday's Major League Line Scores

Table containing baseball scores for Friday and Saturday, including American League and National League results.

HOCKEY

Stanley Cup Finals

Table showing Stanley Cup Finals results between Boston and Edmonton.

TENNIS

French Open Draw

Table listing tennis players and their opponents in the French Open draw.

SUNDAY BASEBALL

base hit of the inning off Bob Walk, 4-3, who allowed six runs and six hits in three innings.

SATURDAY BASEBALL

two-hitter and hit an RBI single as Montreal downed the Giants.

BASEBALL

two-hitter, striking out 13, and Jack Clark hit a two-run homer in the fourth as the Yankees beat Oakland to take two of three games in the weekend duel of American League division leaders.

BASEBALL

two-hitter, striking out 13, and Jack Clark hit a two-run homer in the fourth as the Yankees beat Oakland to take two of three games in the weekend duel of American League division leaders.

THE BEST IN TENNIS BRACE FOR FRENCH OPEN

By Robin Herman
New York Times Service
PARIS — Virtually all of the world's best tennis players have gathered here for the French Open, the second leg of the grand slam and the year's biggest clay-court event.



Bruce Hurst and first baseman Dwight Evans picked off California's Gus Polidor Saturday in Boston.

BASKETBALL

NBA Playoffs

Table showing NBA playoff results for Friday and Saturday.

SOCCER

FRANCE FIRST DIVISION

Table showing French soccer league results.

TRANSITION

BASEBALL

Table showing baseball transition information.

The Best in Tennis Brace for French Open

By Robin Herman
New York Times Service
PARIS — Virtually all of the world's best tennis players have gathered here for the French Open, the second leg of the grand slam and the year's biggest clay-court event.



Mikael Pernfors — a finalist here two years ago — in the second round. Then there are the Argentines. A strong contingent of these clay-court artists includes 18-year-old Guillermo Perez-Roldan, who took Lendl to five sets in the final in Rome, and Martin Jaitz, 23, whom Lendl encountered in the second round.

Major League Standings

Table showing major league standings for various teams.

Advertisement for the French Open '88 tennis tournament, featuring Roland Garros and Seiko as the official timer.

